

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

CALL No. 915.05/A.R.
ACC. No. 25498

D.G.A. 79-

GIPN-S4-2D. G. Arch. N. D. 56.-25-9-58-1,00,000.





THE IMPERIAL
AND
ASIATIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW

AND
Oriental and Colonial Record.

25498

915.05
A. R.



THIRD SERIES—VOLUME XXXII. Nos. 63 & 64.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1911.



THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY NEW DELHI

Acc. No. 25498

Date. 30.1.57

Call No. 915.05/A.R.

CONTENTS.

| | PAGES |
|---|----------|
| INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY. By Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I. | I |
| RACE AND COLOUR PREJUDICE IN INDIA. By W. B. Oldham, C.I.E. | 62 |
| A STATUTORY ROYAL VICEROY FOR INDIA. By C. K. Vyasa Rao | 72 |
| UNREST AND EDUCATION IN INDIA. By James Kennedy, I.C.S. | 81 |
| THE ARCHITECT IN INDIA. By J. Begg, F.R.I.B.A., Consulting-Architect to the Government of India. | 88 |
| INDIA REVISITED AFTER TWENTY-FOUR YEARS. The Rambling Reflections of an Old District Officer. | 103 |
| THE MYSTERY OF ZIMBABWE. By Frederick A. Edwards, F.R.G.S. | 110 |
| YASNA XLIV. By Professor Mills | 122 |
| BĀBUR'S DIWĀN. By H. Beveridge | 132 |
| THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM. By Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell. | 135 |
| THE ANCIENT CITY AND STATE OF KUTCHAR. By E. H. Parker | 141 |
| PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION. | 167, 377 |
| THE MOSLEM UNIVERSITY. By M. T. Kaderbhoy, Hon. Secretary London All-India Moslem League. | 225 |
| THE ANTIQUITY AND ORIGINALITY OF HINDU CIVILIZATION. By Major J. B. Keith, formerly of the Indian Archaeological Survey | 244 |
| RACE: WHO ARE THE HINDUS? By Major J. B. Keith, formerly of the Indian Archaeological Survey. | 286 |
| ESSAYS ON INDIAN ART, INDUSTRY, AND EDUCATION. By R. F. Chisholm | 345 |
| THE PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA. By Professor Mills | 321 |
| ORIENTAL CROSSBOWS. By H. Beveridge | 354 |
| JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS. By Charlotte M. Salwey, M.J.S. | 359 |
| EARLY ETHIOPIA AND SONGHAY. By Frederick A. Edwards, F.R.G.S. | 373 |
| CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC. | 183, 396 |
| Race and Colour Prejudice | 183-184 |
| India—North and South.—Chinese Bronzes | 396-400 |

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

185, 401

The Call of the Snowy Hissar, by William Hunter Workman and Fanny Bullock Workman.—The Awakening of India, by J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.—The Broad Stone of Empire. Problems of Crown Colony Administration, with Records of Personal Experience, in two volumes, by Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G. With maps.—Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment, by Sir Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.—Through Persia in Disguise, by Colonel Charles E. Stewart, C.R.—Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots: A Civil Servant's Recollections and Impressions of Thirty-seven Years of Work and Sport in the Central Provinces and Bengal, by Sir Andrew A. L. Fraser, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. With thirty-three illustrations and a map.—Seventeen Years among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo, by Edwin H. Gomes, M.A.—Chota Nagpore. Second edition. By F. B. Bradley Birt, I.C.S.—Across the Roof of the World, by Lieutenant P. T. Etherington, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.—Adventure, Sport, and Travel in the Tibetan Steppes, by W. N. Fergusson, F.R.G.S.

185—209

An Eastern Miscellany, by the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P.—*Variétés Sinologiques*: No. 31, *Histoire du Royaume de Han*, 423-225 B.C., by the Rev. A. Tschupe, S.J.—The Nanking Monument of the Beatitudes, by Thomas Jenner, Member China Society, etc. Printed for private distribution.—The English Factories in India, 1634-1636, by William Foster.—Cinq cents Contes et Apologues, Extraits du *Tripitaka Chinois*, et Traduits en Français, par Édouard Chavannes. Vols. i.-iii.—Big-Game Shooting in Upper Burma, by Major G. P. Evans.—The Life and Letters of Sir John Hall, M.D., K.C.B., F.R.C.S., by S. M. Mitra, author of "Indian Problems," "Hindupore," etc. With an introduction by Rear-Admiral Sir Massie Blomfield, K.C.M.G. With portraits and illustrations.—Essays on the Purpose of Art, by Mrs. Barrington.—"E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series. Vol. xviii. *Djami-el-Tévarikh, Histoire générale du Monde*, by Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din; *Tarikh-i Moubarek-i Ghazani, Histoire des Mongols*, edited by E. Blochet, Tome II., containing the history of Genghis Khan's successors.—Among the Tribes in South-West China, by Samuel R. Clarke.—The Analects of Confucius, by W. E. Soothill, Principal of the Imperial University, Shan Si (Fuku-in Printing Company, Yokohama).—Islam Lands: Nubia, the Sudan, Tunisia, and Algeria, by Michael Myers Shoemaker, author of "Islands of the Southern Seas," "Wanderings in Ireland," "Winged Wheels in France," etc. With forty-four illustrations.—The Incas of Peru, by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S.—*Saito Musashi-Bō Benkei* ("Tales of the Wars of the Gempai"), by James S. de Benneville. Vols. i. and ii. Illustrated. Published by the author in Yokohama.—Eastern Asia: A History, by Ian C. Hannah, M.A., Camb.—Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, by F. C. Hodgson.—India and Tibet: A History of the Relations which have subsisted between the Two Countries from the Time of Warren Hastings to 1910; together with a Particular Account of the Mission to Lhasa of 1904, by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.I.E. With maps and illustrations.

401—432

OUR LIBRARY TABLE

210, 433

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE COLONIES, INCLUDING OBITUARY

214, 436

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1911.

INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY.*

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

A WORD as to the attitude in which I approach the study of this most complicated subject. I am no financial expert, and have been led to study the history of the rupee mainly because it seems to me that we cannot understand the economic changes which have taken place in India, and which are still taking place, without having a clear idea of the change in the value of the currency, which has had an enormous effect on the material prosperity of all classes. The chief object of this paper is to help those interested to understand this important question, although, like myself, they cannot pretend to be masters of the science and art of High Finance; and while I shall venture to put forward some of my own crude opinions and suggestions, I wish especially to invite your attention to the statistical facts I have collected, which I shall place before you in the shape of statements and diagrams. All the diagrams represent facts, not opinions, and I trust you will, like myself, find that a glance at a diagram often gives one a better and fuller understanding of the facts of a case than do hours of close study of columns of figures.

I have obtained the figures which are embodied in the statements and diagrams mainly from the reports of the Director of the United States Mint, and from the statistics

* The discussion on this paper, read before the East India Association, will appear in our October issue.

annually published by the Government of India. I have also derived much help from Mr. Shaw's "History of Currency," and from the series of index numbers compiled by Mr. Sauerbeck for prices in England, and by the Commercial Intelligence Department of the Government of India and Mr. Atkinson for prices in India. Others have also kindly helped me with information on various points. The statements, on which the diagrams are founded, represent the result of purely arithmetical deductions from those statistics, and where, for purposes of comparison, it has been necessary to turn rupees into pounds sterling, or pounds sterling into rupees, I have done so at the rate of exchange for the year to which they relate.

THE CURRENCY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

In studying currency problems it is advisable, for the sake of clearness of ideas, to deal first with the familiar facts of the present, and from them go on to the less readily intelligible conditions of the past. Let me, then, ask you to consider our own present-day currency in this country, which consists of gold, silver, bronze, and paper money, taking as types of these different forms of currency the gold sovereign, the silver shilling, the bronze penny, and the Bank of England five-pound note.

The sovereign is made, not of pure gold, but of "standard gold," which contains eleven-twelfths of pure gold and one-twelfth of alloy. Each sovereign weighs about 123 grains, and as a troy ounce weighs 480 grains, a troy ounce of standard gold is coined into 3.9 sovereigns, or in other words, the troy ounce of standard gold is equal in intrinsic value to £3 17s. 10½d., while one ounce of pure gold is worth, in standard gold or in sovereigns, £4 4s. 11½d., the difference being due to the inferior value of the alloy in standard gold.

Similarly, the shilling is made of standard silver, which contains about 92 per cent. of pure silver and 8 per cent. of alloy, the weight of a shilling being 87 grains, so that a troy ounce of standard silver is coined into 5½ shillings;

and as the present price of silver is little more than 24 pence per ounce, the value of the metal in a shilling-piece is at present less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The bronze penny contains 95 per cent. of copper, the other 5 per cent. being tin and zinc. The metal in a penny is worth very much less than $\frac{1}{240}$ part of the gold in a sovereign, though the coined penny passes current at that value.

The five-pound note is worth intrinsically nothing at all, and yet everyone takes it in exchange for five golden sovereigns, because the Bank of England, which everybody trusts, is bound to give five sovereigns for it whenever it is presented for payment.

In this country, our currency is entirely based on gold—in other words, if a man has a debt to pay, unless it is of small amount, he is bound to pay it in gold or its equivalent, gold and Bank of England notes being the only legal tender for sums over two pounds. Thus, when we speak of so many pounds, we really mean that number of golden sovereigns.

The shilling is legal tender for all sums under two pounds, at the rate of 20 shillings to the sovereign. So long as this is the law, each shilling coin passes current in the country as being equal in value to one-twentieth of a golden sovereign, whatever be the value in gold of the metal contained in it. The shilling, therefore, has an artificial value in no way depending on the intrinsic value of the metal it contains, and it and all the other silver and bronze coins in use in this country are mere tokens, representing really fractions of the gold in a sovereign. Thus, when we speak of an article being worth 6s. 8d., we do not mean it is worth the metal in six shillings and eight pennies, but that it is worth one-third of the weight of gold in a sovereign.

It also follows that, at all events in this country, the price of silver depends entirely on its commercial value as a commodity, and is not affected by its use as the metal of

which part of our currency is made, except in so far as that is one of the many purposes for which silver is required.

Gold is coined into sovereigns at the British Mint free of charge and without restriction, so that anyone who takes a bar of standard gold to the Mint receives in exchange an equal weight of sovereigns. So long as this is so, the price of gold, as measured in sovereigns, cannot change appreciably in this country. Indeed, anywhere in the world, a bar of gold cannot, unless on exceptional occasions, differ in value from an equal weight of sovereigns by much more than the cost of transporting the gold to the nearest British mint, and bringing back sovereigns of the same weight. That is, the price of standard gold must always, and everywhere, be about 3·9 sovereigns to the ounce, whereas the price of silver measured in pounds sterling—that is, in gold—varies from time to time according to the same law of supply and demand as determines the price of other commodities.

THE CURRENCY OF INDIA.

Now turn to India, where, until 1893, the currency was based on silver, and the unit of currency and of values was the rupee, weighing 180 grains, about 92 per cent. of the metal of which it is composed being silver, and about 8 per cent. alloy, so that the standard of fineness of the Indian rupee is much the same as that of the silver coinage of this country. Until 1893 the coinage of silver into rupees at the Indian Mints was free and unrestricted, and it necessarily followed that the value of a bar of silver was always nearly the same as that of an equal weight of rupees—that is, the price of silver, measured in rupees, always remained about the same, however much the price of silver, measured in gold, might alter. It also followed, as a matter of course, so long as silver was freely coined into rupees, that the gold price of the rupee—that is, the exchangeable value of the rupee as compared with the sovereign—must fluctuate very nearly in proportion to the fluctuations in the gold price of silver. Until 1893,

therefore, when in India the price of a commodity was stated in rupees, it meant simply that it was worth the amount of silver contained in that number of rupees, and when a man was held entitled to receive so many rupees—for instance, as his monthly salary or in repayment of a loan—this simply meant that he could claim a weight of silver equal to the weight of that number of rupees.

RATIO BETWEEN GOLD AND SILVER.

In India, until 1899, gold coin was not legal tender, and its value in rupees was simply its value as gold—that is to say, a sovereign or any other gold coin was bought and sold much as if it were a bit of uncoined gold, and at about the same price. The copper coinage, like the bronze coinage in this country, was merely a token coinage, and represented certain fractions of the value of a rupee, whatever might be the intrinsic value of the copper contained in it.

Now, although it is true that in the course of trade, in the long run, commodities are exchanged against commodities, and that coins and currencies, and even gold and silver, are merely measures of the exchangeable value of commodities among themselves, yet it is also true that retail prices, and still more wages, which represent the cost of labour, possess a sort of *vis inertiae* owing to the force of custom, and do not rapidly adjust themselves to variations in the exchangeable value of the precious metals which form the accepted standard of values generally. Again, a purchaser who reckons his transactions and profits in gold, when considering what price he will offer for the commodity he wants in a country using silver as its currency, so that he must offer his price in silver, necessarily calculates how much gold he must give to make up the silver price—and, conversely, a man living in a country whose currency is in silver, and wishing to buy goods from a country with a gold standard, must calculate how much silver he will have to pay to make up the gold price of the goods he wants in

the country of their origin. So that, in the case of two such countries, one using gold and the other silver, the course of trade must be considerably affected by fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver. Still more important must those fluctuations be to a State, which owes a debt payable in gold, while its income is mainly in silver. It is therefore advisable to see what, in fact, have been the changes in the exchangeable value of gold and silver as between themselves, apart altogether from the still more important fluctuations in their exchangeable value as regards commodities generally.

I will, therefore, now ask you to confine attention to this question: What have been the actual fluctuations in the exchangeable value of gold and silver between themselves?

At present, in the London market, the price of silver is quoted at about 24½d. per ounce. For simplicity's sake I take it in round numbers at 24d. per ounce. That means that 1 ounce, or 480 grains weight, of uncoined silver is exchanged in the open market for one-tenth of a sovereign—that is, is equal in value to one-tenth of the weight of gold in a sovereign—and as an ounce of gold is coined into about 3·9 sovereigns, it follows that an ounce of gold is at present equal in market value to 39 ounces of silver; in other words, the present ratio in value of gold to silver is 39 to 1. It is advisable in considering this question to get out of one's mind all thoughts of coined money, and to think only of weights of uncoined metal. For instance, if you wanted to sell gold and buy silver in the London market, the ratio between gold and silver being 39 to 1, if you sold a bar of gold weighing 1,000 ounces, you would get for it something like thirty-nine bars of silver, each weighing 1,000 ounces.

In Statement No. I. I have shown the ratio between gold and silver in Europe for the last six and a half centuries, taken mainly from Mr. Shaw's elaborate "History of Currency," supplemented as regards recent figures by

the statistics now annually published by the Director of the United States Mint. For the earlier centuries the figures are merely approximate, but they are near enough for my present purpose.

It will be seen that from A.D. 1250 to 1600—that is, for three and a half centuries—the ratio of gold to silver remained pretty steady between 10 and 12—that is, an ounce of gold was equivalent in value to between 10 and 12 ounces of silver. About the year 1600 the value of gold in relation to silver began to rise, and it rose on the whole gradually, until in 1875 the ratio was nearly 17. In the following quarter of a century, however, the ratio rose very rapidly until, in 1900, it was no less than 33—that is, an ounce of gold commanded in the market 33 ounces of silver, just double what it commanded twenty-five years before; and since then it has risen to about 38. It is evident, therefore, that something extraordinary has happened during recent times to the relation between the precious metals, very different in degree from any change that had taken place in the previous six centuries. Let us now give more detailed consideration to the last fifty years and see what has actually happened.

Statement No. II. shows the ratio of gold to silver in London from the year 1861 up to the present day. It will be noticed that up to the year 1872 the ratio remained very steady at about $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, which was the ratio that had prevailed for half a century before that; but in 1873 commenced the upward tendency which has gone on with violent fluctuations ever since. This upward tendency was gradual till 1889, when the ratio was 22 to 1, and after a fall to 19 in 1890, it rose very rapidly till 1902, when it stood at 39. It then fell to 31 in 1906 and 1907, and made a sudden jump again to 39 in 1908, and still remains at about 38. This means that whereas in 1872, and for nearly a century before that, an ounce of gold could only purchase $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver, it can now purchase 38 ounces—more

than twice as much. The change has been most rapid in the last twenty years, for in 1890 an ounce of gold could only purchase 19 ounces of silver, whereas now it can purchase about 38. That is to say, in the last twenty years gold has doubled its value in relation to silver.

This must either mean that gold has increased in value in relation to all other commodities, or that silver has fallen in value in relation to all other commodities, or that both processes have taken place.

EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF GOLD.

Let us first see what has happened to gold taken by itself; and for this we have Mr. Sauerbeck's invaluable tables showing the course of average prices of general commodities in England. These tables are compiled by taking for each year the gold prices in England of forty-five commodities in general consumption, and taking the arithmetical mean of those prices as indicating the price for that year of all commodities (except gold) taken together. Then the average prices of the eleven years 1867-1877 (which in the aggregate are equivalent to the average of the twenty-five years 1853-1877) were called 100 in the case of each commodity, and the percentage variation for each commodity calculated for each year. The percentage figures of all articles in each year were added together and divided by the total number of commodities, and the figure thus obtained formed the index number for the respective year.

This process gives the rise and fall of average prices expressed in gold. But what we want is the rise and fall in the exchangeable value of gold as compared with other commodities generally, so we must recalculate the percentage the other way. For instance, when Mr. Sauerbeck's tables give 80 as the index number for the year 1907, this means that the average gold prices for the year of the forty-five commodities stood to the average prices of

the years 1867-1877 in the proportion of 80 to 100—that is, that the quantity of those commodities which cost 100 ounces of gold in the former period could be bought in 1907 for 80 ounces of gold; (or, in other words, 80 ounces of gold would buy in 1907 as much goods as 100 ounces did in those eleven years); so that in 1907 100 ounces of gold bought

$$\frac{100 \times 100}{80} = 125 \text{ of commodities—and gold measured in}$$

commodities had risen 25 per cent. in value. I have, accordingly, in Statement No. III. worked out the percentage of the fluctuations in the value of gold as compared with its average value for the years 1867-1877, as measured in those forty-five commodities, according to their exchange value, year by year, in England. It will be seen that, measured in this way, the exchange value of gold in England was 100 in the decade ending 1870, then rose to 151 in the last decade of the century, and has again fallen to 137 in the decade ending 1910—that is, any particular weight of gold will now fetch in England 37 per cent. more of those forty-five commodities than it would fetch forty years ago.

EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF SILVER.

Let us now endeavour to make a similar estimate of the fluctuation in the value of silver, as measured in general commodities. Mr. Sauerbeck gives index numbers for silver, but they are based on a comparison with the traditional price, prevalent before 1870, of 60·84d. per ounce, which means a ratio of gold to silver in value of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and what we want, in order to make the comparison with the changes in the value of gold, 'are the fluctuations as compared with the average value of silver for the same eleven years, 1867-1877, as have been taken by Mr. Sauerbeck as the basis of his comparison of gold prices. For those eleven years the average price of silver in gold was 58½d. per ounce, and this price I take as 100. Now, for instance, in 1894, the gold price of silver in London

was 29, or just about half the average of the standard period, so that for that year the index number for the gold price of silver would be 50; but in that year the exchange value of gold, as measured in the forty-five commodities, had risen from 100 to 159 as compared with the standard period, so that the exchange value of silver in that year, as measured in those commodities, had varied from 100 to 50 per cent. of 159 per cent.—that is, to 80. In other words, a particular weight of silver would, in the London market, purchase only $\frac{80}{100}$ of the amount of those forty-five commodities which it would have purchased on the average of the years 1867-1877. I therefore take 80 as the index number of silver in England for that year, as measured in general commodities. In Statement No. III. I have worked out similar index numbers for silver in each year.

It will be seen that, measured in the amount of those forty-five commodities they purchase in England, as compared with the amount they purchased on the average of the eleven years 1867-1877, gold has greatly appreciated in exchange value, while silver has depreciated to an equal extent. In the last decade, ending 1910, a given quantity of gold bought in England 37 per cent. more of commodities than it bought in 1867-1877, while a given quantity of silver bought 38 per cent. less than it then did. In other words, measured in commodities, gold had in England appreciated in exchange value by 37 per cent., while silver had depreciated in value 38 per cent. It appears, therefore, that the great alteration in the ratio between gold and silver that has taken place in the last fifty years has been due partly to a rise in the exchange value of gold and partly to a fall in the exchange value of silver. This means that the effective demand for gold must have increased faster than the supply, and that the demand for silver must have fallen off as compared with the supply.

WORLD'S SUPPLY OF GOLD.

Let us first look at the case of gold. What has been the increase in the world's supply of gold? From the date of the discovery of America, in 1493, up to the year 1850, there was a slow but steady increase in the rate of annual production of gold in the world, the average for the first half of last century being a little over £3,000,000 per annum. Then came the discoveries in California and Australia, and the average for the last half of the century was £28,000,000 per annum. For the last decade, ending 1910, the production has averaged no less than £78,000,000 per annum. If we take the averages for periods of ten years, it will be seen that the production of gold suddenly increased in 1851-1860, fell slightly in the three following decades, then suddenly rose again in the decade 1891-1900, owing to the discoveries in South Africa, and has gone on steadily rising year by year since 1890, except that, for three years after 1899, there was a temporary decrease owing to the South African War. Last year and the year before the world's annual production of gold amounted to no less than £94,000,000 worth.

During the 350 years from the discovery of America up to 1850, the addition to the world's stock of gold was of the value of £650,000,000; in the next fifty years no less than £1,400,000,000 worth were produced, and in the last ten years £780,000,000 worth; so that in the last sixty years the addition to the stock of gold in the world has been more than three times what it was in the previous three and a half centuries. Gold, too, is one of the most durable and most precious of commodities, so that comparatively little of it is lost by wear and tear or through carelessness. Even what is made into ornaments can easily be melted down again and turned to other uses. The total addition to the world's stock of gold since A.D. 1500 has been £2,800,000,000 worth, and as there was a considerable stock in the world before that, it seems pretty safe to estimate that the present

stock of available gold is not less than £3,500,000,000 worth, and that it is double what it was sixty years ago.

With such a large addition to the supply of gold, one would naturally expect that it would have become less valuable in relation to other commodities, and that general prices measured in gold would have risen rapidly. But the contrary has been the case. As we have seen, although gold prices have risen as compared with fifteen years ago, they are now, on the average of the past ten years, 27 per cent. lower than they were forty years ago, and the value of gold measured in other commodities has risen 37 per cent. It follows that the demand for gold, in comparison with that for other commodities, must have increased even more rapidly than the supply.

Where is all this £3,500,000,000 worth of gold? The Director of the U.S. Mint estimates that on December 31, 1909, the amount of gold in the banks and public treasuries of the world was £941,000,000 worth, and that the gold coin in circulation amounted to £318,000,000 worth. This accounts for only £1,250,000,000 of the £3,500,000,000 worth there is reason to believe to be in the possession of mankind, and leaves over £2,000,000,000 worth of actual gold, which must be held in boards or as ornaments, or in some form other than currency and currency reserves.

ABSORPTION OF GOLD BY INDIA.

As we are specially interested in India, let us see what share India has secured of all this gold. We have fairly trustworthy figures for the import and export of treasure into and out of India since 1840, and these show that during the last seventy years India has absorbed £240,000,000 worth of gold, equal to more than one-tenth of the whole world's production during that period. India's population is about one-sixth of that of the whole world, so that the quantity of gold that India has secured is not so very far short of its share with the rest of the world, man for man,

as might be imagined from the comparative poverty of the masses of its population. There must have been a good deal of gold in India in 1840, and there cannot have been much absolute loss of gold since then, so that India must at this moment contain something like £275,000,000 worth of gold, or nearly one-twelfth of the whole existing world's stock, which I have estimated at £3,500,000,000.

Moreover, India's absorption of gold is rapidly increasing, and the share it takes of the greatly increased annual supply is growing. During the last decade the world's production was £780,000,000 worth, and of this India absorbed £82,000,000 worth (more than one-tenth). In the last two years she has absorbed £35,000,000 worth, which was more than one-sixth of the world's production for those two years. Of the whole £275,000,000 worth of gold held in India, only about £6,000,000 worth is in the Government treasuries; all the rest is held by the people.

It seems to me that these figures for India, even more than those for the banks and treasuries of the world, indicate why it is that, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the world's stock of gold, the exchangeable value of gold in relation to other commodities generally has risen considerably in the last forty years. As people's material prosperity increases, they like to have more gold in their possession than before—whether in the form of hoards or ornaments—and they can afford to indulge in that luxury, so that their effective demand for gold rises more rapidly than that for other commodities which they do not desire so much. Owing to the great advance made by man in his mastery over the forces of Nature during the past century, there has been almost everywhere in the world an enormous addition to capital of all kinds and to the material wealth of the human race. The desire for gold is universal, and this increase of material wealth has enabled vast numbers of people throughout the world to gratify that desire, and is the real cause of the appreciation of the exchangeable value of gold, which the course of prices

proves to have taken place, in spite of the unprecedented addition to the world's supply.

As for India, her prosperity is steadily advancing. Great numbers of her people prefer to spend their savings on gold rather than on other commodities. The probability is that, altogether apart from questions of currency, India will continue to absorb gold in ever-increasing quantity.

WORLD'S SUPPLY OF SILVER.

So much for gold. Now, let us see what has happened to silver. In studying silver, it is better to deal with weight than with value in pounds sterling, because the gold value of silver has varied so much from time to time. I therefore give the figures for silver in millions of ounces. (It is well to remember that an ounce of silver is now worth about two shillings, or a tenth of a sovereign, and that up to forty years ago it had for some time been worth about five shillings, or a fourth of a sovereign.)

The total world's production of silver from the discovery of America, 400 years ago, has been nearly 11,000,000,000 ounces. There was a large quantity of silver in the world before then, and the wastage cannot have been very great. I estimate the present world's stock of silver at about 12,000,000,000 ounces, worth, at its present price, £1,200,000,000 in gold. Nearly half this amount has been added to the world's stock of silver, during the last sixty years. The rate of production, measured in decades, steadily increased from 1830 onwards, and rose to 182,000,000 ounces per annum in the decade 1901-1910, the production last year being the record one of 218,000,000 ounces, more than double what it was only twenty-five years ago, and eight times what it was sixty years ago. With this enormous addition to the world's supply of silver, the wonder is that its exchangeable value has not fallen even more than it actually has. During the last 400 years, taking weights only, the world's production of gold has been, in million ounces, 671, and of silver,

10,640, or in the proportion of 16 ounces of silver to 1 of gold. For the last sixty years the production has been 517,000,000 ounces of gold to 5,830,000,000 ounces of silver, or only about 11 ounces of silver to 1 of gold. For the last decade the proportion was 10 to 1. So that the falling off in the value of silver in relation to gold is not due to any increase in the relative production of silver in comparison with that of gold, but must be due to a smaller increase in the effective demand for silver as compared with the increase in the demand for gold.

ABSORPTION OF SILVER BY INDIA.

Let us see what India has been doing as regards silver. In the last seventy years she has absorbed 2,250,000,000 ounces of silver, or more than one-third of the whole world's supply during that period. In the last decade she absorbed 720,000,000 ounces out of the 1,820,000,000 ounces produced in the whole world. India must now possess at least 2,500,000,000 ounces of silver, or one-fifth of the whole world's stock, which is more than her share in proportion to population. That silver is, at its present price, worth £250,000,000 in gold. India's demand for silver seems almost insatiable, notwithstanding the great increase in her demand for gold. It is interesting to note that in the marvellous decade 1861-1870—the decade of the American War and the Lancashire Cotton Famine—India benefited so much from the high prices she got for her cotton that she absorbed nearly one-fourth of the world's production of gold and the whole of the world's production of silver during those ten years. In those ten years she added to her stock of the precious metals to the value of more than 150,000,000 pounds sterling. Yet even that record has been beaten by the decade just ended, during which India absorbed £82,000,000 worth of gold and £88,000,000 worth of silver—in all, £170,000,000 worth of the precious metals.

With such figures before them, how can people say that

India is being drained of her material wealth? Gold and silver are merely one form of wealth, but they are luxuries, and if the people of India were getting poorer and poorer, is it likely that they would be able to purchase these enormous quantities of the precious metals, and would prefer them to the necessities of life?

THE RUPEE.

Let us now trace the history of the rupee. The rupee weighs 180 grains and contains about 92 per cent. of fine silver. So long as the Indian mints were open to the unrestricted coinage of silver, it followed that the rupee, whether measured in gold or in other commodities, necessarily possessed about the same value as 180 grains weight of silver. In Statement No. II. I have accordingly shown the value in gold, at the London price of the year, of a rupee's weight of silver. It will be seen that it fell, decade by decade, with the fall in the gold value of silver, from 23d. in 1861-1870 to 10d. in the decade just ended. The rupee, as will be seen from the Statement, necessarily fell in gold value at the same rate till the mints were closed in 1893. This measure and other measures taken about the same time in Germany, America, and other countries, which led to a sudden increase in the demand for gold and diminution in the demand for silver, caused a rapid fall in the gold value of silver, which went down to 11d. per rupee's weight of silver in 1894. At first the rate of exchange—that is, the gold value of the rupee coin, also fell, but not so fast as that of uncoined silver, and in 1894 it was 13½d. per rupee, as compared with 11d. the rupee weight of uncoined silver. Then the diminution in the supply of rupees due to the stoppage of coinage began to tell, and, although the gold price of silver has fallen since, the rate of exchange—that is, the gold value of the rupee—went up, until, in 1898, it reached 16d., and has since remained practically at that figure; so that, for the last thirteen years, the rupee coin has been worth almost exactly 16d., although

the value of a rupee's weight in silver has gone down and up between $11\frac{1}{2}$ d. and 9d. The object of the Government of India in closing the mints and in taking other measures since, was to steady the rate of exchange, and to dissociate the rupee coin from the variations that take place in the gold value of silver. That object has been fully attained. Since 1898 the average rate of exchange, as shown by the sales of bills on India by the Secretary of State to the amount of many millions of pounds per annum, has in no year differed from 16d. per rupee by more than a sixteenth of a penny. Contrast this with the history of the previous thirty years, during which it fell from 23d. to 13d., and often differed between one year and the next by more than a penny per rupee. This mere steadying of exchange has been of immense benefit to all engaged in trade between the two countries, as it has made it much easier to calculate the result of any transaction involving the buying of goods at prices fixed in rupees, and selling them at prices fixed in gold, or *vice versa*; and to the Government of India—that is to the general Indian taxpayer—since it has made it possible to calculate exactly how many rupees would be required to meet that large portion of the expenditure of India which has to be paid in pounds sterling.

In order to judge of the other advantages and disadvantages of closing the mints, it is necessary to arrive at some conclusion as to what would probably have happened if they had still been kept open as before, to the unrestricted coinage of rupees. In that case the rupee would necessarily have continued, as before, to have the exchangeable value, whether measured in gold or in commodities generally, of 180 grains of uncoined silver, and would have fallen in exchangeable value along with silver. Would the keeping open of the mints have retarded the fall in the value of silver which has taken place? It might have done so for a time, but not to any great extent. The exchangeable value of silver depends on the relation between the

demand and supply of that metal in the world generally as compared with the demand and supply of other commodities. The supply would have been much what it has actually been, and the exchangeable value of silver in the world generally could only have been different had India's demand for that metal been much greater than it actually has been. Although the mints were closed, India has continued to demand silver even more urgently than before. The average rate per annum of absorption of silver by India has actually increased from 28,000,000 ounces in the decade 1881-1890 to 72,000,000 in 1900-1910. Would it have increased faster had the mints been left open? Only so far as that would have increased the demand for rupees required for active circulation, the number of rupees required for the purpose being larger as the value of each coin grew less. I see Sir David Barbour in 1893 estimated this demand at 115 crores of rupees; it may now amount to 200 crores—that is, 800,000,000 ounces, or about one-fifteenth of the total stock of silver now in the world. Thus, any possible further increase of demand for silver by India for currency purposes would not have appreciably increased the world's demand for silver. On the other hand, if bar silver had continued to cost one rupee for a rupee's weight of silver, it is probable that the demand in India for bar silver for ornaments and hoarding would not have been so great as it has been during these years, when silver has cost the purchaser much less in rupees than it did before the closing of the mints. On the whole, then, my conclusion is that, had the mints in India been kept open, the total world's demand and supply of silver would not have been very different from what they have been, and the gold price of silver would have continued to fall much as it has done, so that the rupee would now have been worth only about 10d., as at present prices a rupee's weight of silver is worth little more than 9d. in the London market. If this conclusion is correct, keeping the mints open would not have saved the uncoined silver, in India

and elsewhere, from falling in exchangeable value, whether measured in gold or in general commodities.

EFFECTS OF THE CLOSING OF THE MINTS.

Let us now consider what have been some of the effects of the closing of the mints, besides that of steadying exchange. One great effect has been to make the rupee a mere token coin, representing not so many grains weight of silver, but one-fifteenth of the value of the gold in a sovereign. In other words, the standard of currency and value in India has for the last twelve years been gold, and payments throughout India are now made in coins representing not so much silver, but so much gold. The value of the rupee, like that of the shilling in this country, whether measured in gold or in other commodities, is no more affected by ups and downs in the value of silver than it is by changes in the value of iron, or wheat, or cotton. Silver in India, as here, is a mere commodity of trade, and is no longer a standard of value.

EFFECT ON TRADE.

What has been its effect upon trade? In the case of a great continent like India, the trade with the outside world is only a fraction of the total trade of the country, internal and external, but the external trade is more easily ascertained, and is a good index to the value of the total trade. (We may ignore the external land-trade of India, which amounts in value to only about £5,000,000 either way, including an import and export of about £500,000 worth of gold and silver per annum). Measured in rupees, the value of the sea-borne exports of India has risen very steadily from an average of 62 crores in the decade ending 1880, to 164 crores in the last decade—that is, it has much more than doubled. There was a slight decrease in the years 1897, 1898, and 1900, which were years of famine, and an extraordinary decrease in 1908-1909. That decrease was, no doubt, partly due to the severe drought

of 1907-1908 in the North of India, but it seems to have been due, to a much greater extent, to the general depression of trade throughout the world, following on the financial crisis in America, which reduced the demand from other countries for Indian goods. The value of the imports into India similarly increased from 45 crores in the first decade ending 1880, to 140 crores in the last ending 1910—that is, it more than trebled. Like that of the exports, it fell after years of famine, and there was an extraordinary fall in 1908-1909, after the American crisis.

But during those forty years the rupee has fallen greatly in value, and it is well to consider these same trade statistics turned into pounds at the rate of exchange of the year. Measured in sovereigns, the exports rose from £56,000,000 in the decade ending 1880 to £109,000,000 in the last decade, while the imports rose from £41,000,000 to £93,000,000—that is, the total trade more than doubled in value, measured in gold. It will be noticed that, owing no doubt to the falling and uncertain rupee, the gold value of both exports and imports fluctuated greatly between 1880 and 1900, but no sooner was exchange rendered stable from 1898 onwards, than both exports and imports took a rapid upward start, which has continued since, except for the fall already mentioned in 1908-1909. The exports have more than recovered that fall, and amounted for the year ending last March to the record of £144,000,000. The imports have risen again in the last two years, and amounted last year to £116,000,000, a record only beaten by 1907-1908. The fact is that trade means an exchange of commodities against commodities, and so long as the medium of exchange is stable, it does not much matter to the merchant what it is. At all events, as a matter of fact, the sea-borne trade of India has prospered greatly since exchange was steadied by the closing of the mints, and whether measured in rupees or in gold, has increased more rapidly than it did before. And no doubt this is also true of the internal trade of India.

EFFECT ON PRICES.

It behoves us in India, and perhaps in all countries, to pay special consideration to the effect of any change in the standard of currency on the poorest classes, including the daily labourers, who are often not far removed from starvation. This resolves itself into the questions of prices and wages. What, then, has been the effect on prices (1) of the fall in the value of silver, and (2) of the closing of the mints? And first let me call your attention to the effect on the value of the rupee in England, according to Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers of the prices of forty-five commodities. Up to 1898 the rupee was worth in London just about the price of its weight in silver. Since that year it has been worth almost exactly one-fifteenth of a sovereign. I have worked out for each year since 1891 the index number for the value of the rupee-coin measured in forty-five commodities in England, from which it will be seen that, for the last two decades, it has averaged 102 and 99. This means that, for the last decade, while, in comparison with the average prices of the years 1867-1877; which Mr. Sauerbeck took as the basis of his calculations, the exchange value of gold, measured in those forty-five commodities, has gone up 37 per cent., and the exchange value of silver has gone down 38 per cent., the exchange value of the rupee coin is almost exactly the same as in the former period. Indeed, a glance at the diagram will show that, during the last fifty years, the combined operation of the rise and fall of silver, the fixing of the gold value of the rupee, and the rise and fall of gold, has been to keep the purchasing value of the rupee coin, measured in ordinary commodities at prices current in England, remarkably steady throughout.

What has happened to prices in India, measured in rupees? Some idea may be got from the Table of Variations in Price Levels worked out by the Indian Commercial Intelligence Department, taking the prices of 1873 as 100, and treating all articles equally—that is, with-

out allowing for the larger quantity of one article produced or consumed than of another. I give separately the averages for (1) eleven imported articles—price taken at the ports of entry—including iron, copper, manufactured cotton, sugar, kerosene, and salt ; and (2) seven food-grains at seventeen selected stations throughout India. The average index numbers are as follows for decades :

| Decade. | Average Index Numbers for— | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|-----|------------------------|-----|
| | (1) Eleven Imported Articles. | | (2) Seven Food-Grains. | |
| 1861-1870 | ... | ... | 111 | 115 |
| 1871-1880 | ... | ... | 90 | 117 |
| 1881-1890 | ... | ... | 84 | 107 |
| 1891-1900 | ... | ... | 87 | 148 |
| 1901-1910 | ... | ... | 99 | 164 |

It will be seen that, as compared with the decade ending 1870, before the fall in the value of silver began, the rupee prices of the eleven imported articles at the ports during the last decade were actually lower, the fall in the gold value of the rupee from 23d. to 16d. having been more than counterbalanced by the fall in the gold prices of those articles in the country of manufacture, and by the reduction in the cost of transport across the sea ; and seeing that, inside India, communications by railway and road have been greatly extended and the cost of transport from the ports to the vast majority of villages much reduced, it follows that, for India as a whole, a rupee can now buy a good deal more of those imported articles than it could forty years ago. On the other hand, this same reduction in the average cost of transport from the village to the seaport and from the seaport to the country of consumption has tended to raise the price in India of such articles as are produced in India and exported for consumption elsewhere ; and this, combined with the fall in the exchange value of the rupee, has greatly increased the average price in rupees for the country as a whole of the principal food-grains which, according to these figures, was in the past decade nearly 50 per cent. higher than it was forty years ago. This is advantageous to the producer who has a

surplus of grain to sell for export, but is injurious to the local consumer, including the man on a fixed salary, like the Government servant of whatever class, and the man whose wages are fixed in rupees or annas, like the daily labourer.

What has happened up-country may be better seen from the following figures for the average price of wheat at twenty-three markets in the Punjab, about 800 miles from the sea. I give the figures in rupees and decimals per maund of 82 lbs. weight :

| Period. | Average Price of Wheat in Rupees. | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----|----------|
| Eight years ending 1880 | ... | ... | ... 2'09 |
| Ten years ending 1890 | ... | ... | ... 2'09 |
| Ten years ending 1900 | ... | ... | ... 2'73 |
| Nine years ending 1909 | ... | ... | ... 2'92 |

The rise of price in rupees in the Punjab markets since 1880 has been from about R. 2.1 to about R. 2.9, or nearly 40 per cent. As (including profits) it now costs only about 12s. a quarter to transport wheat from the Punjab to England, the price of wheat in the Punjab, except in times of local scarcity, is regulated by its price in the world's market, and although the price of wheat in London has fallen from about 45s. a quarter in 1880 to about 33s. a quarter now, the reduction in the cost of transport and the fall in the value of the rupee enable the London merchant to pay the Punjab producer about 12 annas a maund more than the rupee price of 30 years ago, and to transport wheat from the Punjab to England at a profit—an excellent thing for the Punjab farmer, but not so advantageous to those local consumers of wheat, who have no more rupees to spend than they had before. The rise in the rupee price of wheat and other exported commodities has naturally led to a similar rise in the price of most other farm produce, including the inferior food-grains which form the daily food of the labouring classes.

EFFECT UPON REAL WAGES.

Wages are largely regulated by custom, and, especially in a conservative country like India, take a long time to adjust themselves to a change in prices, whether that is due to a change in the value of the currency or to some other cause. I have recently pointed out that in the Punjab, owing partly to the decrease of population caused by the deplorable mortality from plague and malaria, there has been in the last five years quite a phenomenal rise of wages. But this has not been the case in other parts of India. I take by way of contrast the case of the Madras Presidency, and give the average rate of wages for agricultural labour as reported in the annual statistics. Those statistics are not very complete, but they afford a sufficiently accurate basis of comparison for present purposes. In order to show the rise and fall of the labourers' real wages, I give the average prices for millet (*cholam* or *jawar*), one of the cheapest grains, and the value of the wages measured in maunds of millet per month. Our long famine experience shows that it requires about 2 maunds of grain per month to maintain in good health and vigour a family consisting of a man, his wife, and two children.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

| Period. | Average Wage per Month. | Average Price of Millet in Rupees per Maund. | Wages in Maunds of Millet per Month. |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|
| Eight years ending 1880 ... | 4.3 | 2.4 | 1.8 |
| Ten years ending 1890 ... | 4.4 | 1.6 | 2.8 |
| Ten years ending 1900 ... | 4.2 | 2.3 | 1.8 |
| Seven years ending 1907 ... | 4.3 | 2.5 | 1.7 |

The decade ending in 1880 was quite an exceptional period in the South of India, which, in 1877 and 1878, was devastated by a dreadful famine, during which millions of the people died from want of sufficient nourishment, and prices of all food-grains rose enormously. I therefore take as the basis of comparison the more normal decade 1881-

1890. Since then wages in Madras, measured in rupees, have remained steady at less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per month; but as the average price of millet has risen from R. 1.6 to R. 2.5 per maund—that is, by about 50 per cent.—the real wages of the unskilled labourer, measured in millet, have fallen from 2.8 maunds a month to 1.7 maunds, that is, below the standard of physical efficiency, which I have reckoned at 2 maunds per month for a family. It will be noticed that in that calculation I have made no allowance for what help the labourer can get from any wages earned by his wife and children; but in any case the wage-earning power of the ordinary labourer in Madras must be at present dangerously low, and, although his rupee wages are the same as before, he is really much worse off than he was twenty years ago. The reason for this deterioration of his condition is partly the lowering of the cost of transport, but it is mainly due to the rise in rupee prices of grain, caused by the fall in the value of the rupee in relation to all commodities, and to the failure of cash wages to rise in proportion. Had the mints not been closed, and had the rupee gone on falling in exchangeable value, rupee prices of food-grains must, in accordance with the law of supply and demand throughout the world, have risen much higher than they have, and it is evident from what has happened that rupee wages would not have risen in anything like the same proportion, and that the real wages of the agricultural labourer in Madras would have been very much less than they at present are. The same may be said of the wages of unskilled labour almost all over India. The closing of the mints and the consequent steadying of the exchange value of the rupee have saved the poorest classes of the population from a still more disastrous fall in their real wages, in the amount of necessary food and clothing they could earn, which would inevitably have occurred had rupees continued to be freely coined in exchange for their weight in silver.

EFFECT UPON SALARIED CLASSES.

This is also true, in a modified degree, of all those numerous classes throughout India who receive daily or monthly wages, fixed in cash, whether for skilled labour or personal service, including all servants of the State, both European and Indian; and, be it always remembered that for every European in the service of the State in India, excluding the army, there are at least 150 Indian public servants who have suffered, even more than the Europeans, from the great rise in rupee prices. To all such persons, and especially to the poorer classes among them, the fall in the value of the rupee, due to the fall in the exchangeable value of silver in the world generally, which was, from the nature of things, not immediately followed by a corresponding rise in rupee wages or salaries, meant a diminution in the amount of home-grown commodities which their wages or salaries would buy; and the closing of the mints, by stopping that fall in the value of the rupee, saved them from a further fall in the purchasing power of their wages and salaries, and from enduring much greater hardship than they actually did endure.

Those persons of this class, both European and Indian, who have to employ servants or labourers, have in recent years suffered from a further diminution of their real wages or salaries. Although it takes a long time for a rise of prices to affect rates of wages, it does affect them in time; and during recent years this effect, together with the great accumulation of capital which has taken place, has, in many parts of India, led to a rise of rupee wages, so that persons employing labourers or servants have found it necessary to pay them a larger proportion of their own salaries than before. For similar reasons rents and other charges have risen, and large numbers of servants of the Government and others in the receipt of fixed salaries now find it much more difficult to make both ends meet and to maintain the same standard of comfort as before. This fact

has to some extent been recognized by Government, and in most provinces there has been a considerable increase in the salaries, especially of subordinate officials. The Government of India have been compelled to start a special inquiry into the rise of prices, but I think they have made a mistake in trying to confine that inquiry to the last twenty years or so. They will not get to the bottom of things, or ascertain the real truth of the case, unless they go back at least to 1870, and trace the effect on prices and wages of the fall in the value of silver and of the closing of the mints. However, I expect that the result of the inquiry, incomplete as it seems likely to be, will be to convince them that in many parts of India prices and wages and other charges have risen to such an extent that it is necessary, in the interests of good government, to grant a further substantial rise of salary to most classes of State servants, especially to the lowest subordinates. "Economy" is a good-sounding word, but "justice" is a better, and it is no true economy to underpay the servants of the State, especially in India, where the welfare and security of the people is especially dependent on the efficiency, honesty, and contentment of the official classes.

EFFECT ON THE INDIAN FINANCES.

Now, let us consider what has been the effect of the fall in silver and the closing of the mints on the financial interests of the Government of India—that is, of the general body of taxpayers in India. The dominating feature of the situation is that India has to pay annually a very large sum fixed in gold for interest on the capital lent her by England to develop her railways and canals, for army charges, for stores purchased in England for the Government, for pensions and allowances fixed in sterling payable to her European servants, etc., now amounting altogether to something like £18,000,000 a year. This has to be paid in gold, and the rupee being now worth one-fifteenth of a pound, requires 270,000,000 rupees a year to be found out of the revenues of India. If silver had not

fallen in value, and the rupee had remained worth 2s. or a tenth of a pound, these home charges would have required only 180,000,000 rupees to meet them; if the mints had not been closed, and had the rupee gone on, as silver has, falling in value till it was worth only 10d. or $\frac{1}{12}$ of a pound, they would have required the payment of 432,000,000 rupees a year, instead of 270,000,000, as at present. To find this enormous sum would have made it necessary for the Government to stop the development of the country, to cut down expenditure on all sides, to lower the efficiency of the administration, and at the same time to impose a crushing burden of taxation, which would have injured the prosperity of the whole population, and especially of the poorer classes, and caused widespread distress and discontent. The closing of the mints not only prevented the rapid growth of this heavy burden, but enabled the Government to estimate its resources much more accurately, to make great improvements in the administration, and even to grant liberal reductions of taxation.

EFFECT ON PRODUCERS.

There are two large classes of the population who did benefit for a time, on the whole, from the fall in the value of the rupee—the producers of agricultural produce for sale, and those who were in debt to others. The very important class of landowners and tenants who have a surplus of produce to sell benefited from the rise of rupee prices which resulted from the fall in the value of silver, while their land revenue and rent, which were generally fixed in cash, took some time to rise in proportion. In the case of rents, although the process has been slow, the law of supply and demand has led to a gradual enhancement. Meanwhile the tenants benefited by getting higher rupee prices for their produce, and paying lower rupee rents than those prices would have justified. The owners of land benefited from the rise of rupee prices, so far as they had surplus produce to sell, and from the rise of rents, when that did

take place ; while their land revenue, being fixed in rupees, either permanently or for a long term of years, could not be raised at once in proportion to their increased profits, and when it was raised could not be enhanced to the same pitch as before, because of the large enhancement which that would have caused, measured in rupees. In the last twenty years the average incidence of the land revenue has increased from 20d. to 22d. per acre, while rupee prices of agricultural produce have risen by something like 50 per cent. In the Punjab the land revenue thirty years ago was not far short of half the renting value of the land ; now it cannot be much above a quarter of the renting value or net profits of cultivation. The land revenue collections of India have increased in the last forty years from 20 to 32 crores of rupees ; measured in gold, the increase is only from £20,000,000 to £21,000,000, notwithstanding the immense increase in cultivation and irrigation which has taken place in the interval. If the mints had not been closed and the rupee had gone down to something like 10d., the rupee prices of produce must have risen much farther than they have ; and as rents and revenue would have taken many years to rise in anything like proportion to the rise of prices, they would have absorbed a much smaller fraction of the gross produce ; and as at the same time wages would not have risen in proportion, the net profits left to the tenants, and especially to the landowners, would have been much greater. But this benefit to them would have been gained at the cost of great distress to the labouring class, and great injustice to the general body of taxpayers who do not hold land, while the tenants and landowners themselves would have suffered from the heavy increase in taxation which would have been forced upon the Government. I have all through my service been specially interested in the welfare of the small cultivator, and especially of the peasant-proprietor class, but my regard for them does not carry me so far as to wish them to be benefited unfairly at the cost of their fellows ; and it was

high time, in their own true interest, as well as in that of the general body of the population, to stop the fall in the value of the rupee.

EFFECT ON DEBTORS AND CREDITORS.

The other large class which did benefit from that fall were those debtors who owed money fixed in rupees. A man who had borrowed 100 rupees when rupee prices were low, found it possible to pay off his debt with 100 rupees when rupee prices had gone up 50 per cent. ; so that he did benefit from the fall in the value of the rupee, because he could pay off his debt by the sale of a much smaller quantity of commodities than it represented when he borrowed the money. Creditors and debtors must take ordinary risks of the rise and fall of prices, but when a great change in the value of the currency took place beyond their own control, it came to mean a general confiscation of the rights of creditors and a practical handing over of an immense quantity of commodities to debtors. Great as my sympathy is with many of the indebted classes in India, I hold that the injustice grew to be so great and so detrimental to the encouragement of thrift that it became the duty of the Government to intervene and stop this process of unfair confiscation, all the more because the just claims of Government itself—that is, of the general taxpayer—were rapidly diminishing in real value from the same cause. In the interest, therefore, of the whole body of creditors, it was high time that the fall in the value of the rupee should be stopped, as it was by the closing of the mints.

SUMMARY.

It is one of the chief duties of a civilized Government to provide its people with a standard of currency which shall form a stable measure of value both for present and for future transactions, and when it became evident that silver was falling rapidly in exchangeable value, and was likely to fall much further, it was incumbent on the Government of

India to take action and provide a remedy in the interests of justice between man and man, as well as in that of the general taxpayer and the population as a whole. The step they took was to close the mints to the coinage of silver, and, as I have shown, that measure and the subsidiary measures undertaken then and since have been eminently successful in steadying the medium of exchange and the standard of values, and have conferred inestimable benefits on the people of India, and especially on the poorest classes. It was a step attended with great risk, for it could not be foretold that it would be successful. For instance, it was possible that rupees would be produced from hoards or returned from abroad in such numbers as to keep the currency overstocked and prevent the value of the rupee from rising to the desired limit. When action of such a momentous character is taken, many advisers have some share in the decision. As a matter of fact, it was taken by the Cabinet in this country on the advice of Lord Herschel's Committee, but the chief responsibility for it and all that it might involve rested upon the Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council, and therefore the chief share of the credit for its great success is due to him. He was our chairman, Sir David Barbour, whose name deserves to be written in letters of gold in the history of India among those of her greatest benefactors.

QUESTION OF A GOLD CURRENCY.

Time will allow of only a very brief examination of the machinery by which the Government maintains the stability of exchange at about 1s. 4d. per rupee. It is easy to prevent the value of the rupee from rising much above that rate. This is done by making the sovereign legal tender in India at the rate of 15 rupees, by guaranteeing to give rupees at the Indian mints in exchange for gold at that rate, and by agreeing to sell in this country, at 1s. 4½d. per rupee, bills on India, entitling the purchaser to get rupees in India in exchange for gold paid in London. The

difficulty is to insure that the exchange value of the rupee shall not fall appreciably below 1s. 4d., as it might do if there were too many rupees in circulation and no arrangement were made for withdrawing the surplus. If the Government were in a position to guarantee that anyone could at any time obtain a sovereign for 15 rupees, this danger would be obviated, but to carry out such a guarantee at all times would require the maintenance of a very large reserve of sovereigns, involving great cost; and experience has shown that India can absorb an enormous quantity of gold without using much of it as currency. It must not be forgotten that there is at this moment in India something like £275,000,000 worth of gold, that Government holds only about £6,000,000 worth of this, and that very little is in active circulation, although it is legal tender; also, that India absorbed £35,000,000 worth of gold in the last two years. If this rate of absorption into hoards and for ornaments went on, and Government were bound to give gold on demand for rupees, what certainty is there that a very large amount of gold would not disappear from circulation, and Government be left with a large quantity of useless rupees in its hands, after having had thrown upon it all the expense of importing large quantities of gold, which is at present borne by private importers? It does not seem to me wise that Government should attempt, by any such guarantee, to establish a gold currency, nor do I see any advantage in a single gold currency over the present system of a gold standard with a double legal tender.

ADDITIONS TO THE COINAGE.

The real safeguard for the maintenance of the gold-value of the rupee is the restriction of the number of rupees in circulation to the number actually required by the trade of the country. That number varies with the state of trade. When trade is brisk a large number of rupees is required; when trade is slack, a smaller number is needed, and if the number actually in circulation is more than is required at

the time, there is a danger that they might become relatively cheap, and that their exchange value would fall below 1s. 4d. Under present arrangements Government is more or less at the mercy of the public as to the number of rupees to be put in circulation, for it has notified that it will at all times give rupees in exchange for gold, so that anyone who, in times of brisk trade, wants rupees, has only to take gold to the mint and demand rupees in exchange. The process is a very profitable one for Government, which can buy silver and make it into rupees at a cost of less than 1s. per rupee weight, and issue rupees at the value of 1s. 4d., thus making a profit of more than 4d. on each rupee. This is approximately what happened in the years 1900-1908. After the closing of the mints in 1893 there was practically no new coinage until 1900, but the net addition to the coinage in the following eight years was no less than 100 crores of rupees, of the value of 67,000,000 pounds sterling. During the eight years ending 1906, Government received from the public in India £27,000,000 worth of gold, but sent £23,000,000 of it to England, to pay for part of the silver, and kept only £4,000,000 worth in India. The rest of the silver was paid for by Secretary of State's Council Bills. On the coinage of the 100 crores of rupees it made a profit of £18,000,000, of which £1,100,000 have been used for construction of railways, and the rest formed into a Gold Standard Reserve, which, with interest, now amounts to over £19,000,000.

THE CRISIS OF 1907-1908 AND ITS LESSONS.

This was all very satisfactory, but in 1907 a sudden change occurred. Ordinarily the export trade of India exceeds the import trade in value by about £15,000,000 or £20,000,000 per annum, and there is a large demand in London for the Secretary of State's bills for rupees payable in India in order to enable merchants to pay in India for the excess of goods exported. This demand for rupee bills tends to keep up the value of the rupee measured in gold.

But in 1907-1908 the value of the exports exceeded the value of the imports by only £3,000,000, and in the following year by only £5,000,000, owing partly to severe drought in the North of India, which greatly reduced the amount of produce available for export, but mainly to the general depression of trade throughout the world, which lessened the demand for Indian goods, while the imports into India in 1907-1908 were higher than ever before, probably because quantities of goods had been ordered before the extent of the drought had been realized. The consequence of this shrinkage in the excess of exports over imports was that there was a much smaller demand in London for rupees payable in India, and at the same time the slackness of trade in India itself made the demand for rupees for ordinary circulation smaller; there was therefore a redundancy of rupees, and the exchange value of the rupee fell considerably and threatened to give way rapidly. To prevent this not only did the Secretary of State stop selling Council drafts on India and thus retain large quantities of rupees in the Indian treasuries, but the Government of India took the unusual course of selling gold in London in exchange for rupees in India, the amount so sold between April and August, 1908, being £8,000,000, which brought some 12 crores of rupees into the Treasury. At the same time, people in India, finding they had more rupees than they wanted, sent as many of them into the Treasury as they could, and took out what gold they could get, possibly because they found it easier to hoard it than the more bulky rupees. The consequence was that the gold in the Treasuries and Reserves was all drawn out, and the number of coined rupees held by Government in its Reserves in India in excess of the ordinary Treasury balances, which had been only 20 crores in March, 1907, increased to 47 crores in March, 1909. (It has since fallen to 29 crores in March, 1911.)

Although the measures taken were successful in keeping up the exchange value of the rupee to near 1s. 4d., even

under such an unusual combination of adverse circumstances, there was for a time considerable danger of a sudden fall in exchange which would have been disastrous to many, and would have seriously unsettled trade, commerce, and prices, and it seems now clear that it would have been wiser not to have coined so many rupees in the years of good trade, with the risk of having an embarrassing redundancy of rupees in bad years. It was no doubt very useful to have secured so much as £18,000,000 by coining cheap silver into dear rupees without noticeable loss to any individual, but that advantage was perhaps dearly bought at the cost of the anxiety and uncertainty that prevailed for some months in 1908 and 1909 owing to the existence of too many rupees. In currency matters short-sighted economy is bad finance, and Governments must be ready to make a considerable pecuniary sacrifice in order to secure stability of the standard of exchange and value. This is especially the case in India, where the rupee is merely a token coin, but is the chief medium of exchange. The Governments and banks of the world, by keeping nearly £1,000,000,000 worth of gold and silver in their possession, are practically spending no less than £35,000,000 a year in loss of interest at, say, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., on the maintenance of the system of currency and credit on which the enormous commerce of the world now depends; and India should be prepared to stand her share of this expenditure by maintaining a large reserve and denying herself the immediate advantage of making money by issuing rupees which may prove to be embarrassingly redundant in times of bad trade. The great safeguard of the Indian currency system is not to have too many rupees in circulation. To attain this end I suggest that the Government of India should, so soon as it has acquired a sufficient reserve of gold, cancel the notification which binds it to give rupees in exchange for gold, should make gold legal tender equally with rupees for all payments made by Government as well as by private individuals, and should retain full liberty to pay for currency notes or for

Secretary of State's bills either in sovereigns or in rupees, as it pleases. So long as the holder of a currency note or a Secretary of State's bill knows that he can get for it in India sovereigns at the rate of one for fifteen rupees, its value cannot fall appreciably, even although he might prefer to get rupee coins for it. Government should also announce that so long as it has more than 15 crores (£10,000,000 worth) of coined rupees in its possession, whether in the local Treasuries, the Currency Reserve, or the Gold Standard Reserve (it has at present more than 40 crores), it will not coin any more rupees. It should at the same time endeavour to supply any demand there may be for sovereigns throughout the country by paying out sovereigns at all the large treasuries wherever required in small amounts. This involves some expense in sending sovereigns about the country, but much greater expense is at present rightly incurred in sending rupees about in answer to demand, and the additional expense would be well repaid by the greater stability of the currency, for the more sovereigns there are in circulation, the less is the circulation dependent on rupees, and the less danger is there of a redundancy of rupees in times of bad trade.

No real hardship or inconvenience can result from stinting the supply of rupees. In the first place, there must be many crores of rupees stored up in hoards, which would come out if they were really wanted, in exchange for gold. In the second place, there are £275,000,000 worth of gold in India, including a very large number of sovereigns (in the five years ending 1910 sovereigns were imported to the value of £26,000,000), so that there is no fear of a dearth of sovereigns if the effective demand for them becomes keen. And although it may, here and there, be some inconvenience to traders and others to be given gold and refused rupees, the hardship cannot be great so long as they get plenty of sovereigns to meet their claims. Of course Government should continue to provide rupees freely for the encashment of small quantities of notes, or for comparatively small claims on the Treasury, and the

minimum balance of 15 crores of rupees I have recommended will always be ample to insure this.

Should the number of rupees in the possession of Government remain for any time at or below 15 crores, this would show that there was a persistent demand for more rupees, which should be met by a cautious issue of new rupees, never more than 10 crores' worth in any one year.

SUBSIDIARY PROPOSALS.

As to the question of coining sovereigns in India, it is really of no great importance, except as a matter of sentiment. India can get any number of sovereigns she requires, at little cost, from Australia or England. (She does already annually import about 5,000,000 of them.) There would be some slight advantage in being able, when required, to turn some of the vast quantity of uncoined gold now in India into sovereigns with little delay, and to the owners of gold-mines, who would get their annual output of £2,000,000 worth of gold assayed in India, where it would be quickly absorbed; and for these reasons, but mainly because the privilege of coining sovereigns in India would be a source of satisfaction to many people in India, both commercial men and patriots, I think that privilege should now be granted. It will not cost much, but neither will it bring in much profit, or have much effect in increasing the number of sovereigns in India.

There is a proposal to issue a ten-rupee Indian gold coin, equal in weight to two-thirds of a sovereign. To this the objection is made that it would interfere with the circulation of the ten-rupee currency note. What does it matter if it does? In March, 1909, the value of the total note circulation was 45 crores of rupees, of which 10 crores were in ten-rupee notes. The annual net receipts of the Currency Department were only £172,000, so that, even if no ten-rupee notes were in circulation at all, the loss to Government would only be about £40,000 per annum. It is the duty of Government to supply its subjects with such

currency as they require, even at some cost to the general taxpayer. I would make an issue of ten-rupee gold coins, and if the demand for them proved large, I would supply it, whatever the effect might be on the demand for the ten-rupee currency notes.

THE GOLD STANDARD RESERVE.

The Gold Standard Reserve, built up out of the profits on the coinage of rupees during the past decade, now amounts to £19,300,000, of which £1,400,000 is held in cash at short notice in England, £1,900,000 in coined rupees in India, and the remaining £16,000,000 is invested in British funds, and brings in about £500,000 in interest every year, which is added to the Reserve. This is an advantage, considered by itself, but a Reserve so held is not a true Reserve. In a time of real crisis it might be difficult to turn those securities into gold at short notice, except at a great loss, which would soon swallow up the gains by way of interest, and the attempt to do so would add to any feeling of panic. It should all be held in gold. This would mean a loss of £500,000 annually in interest; but if the Bank of France thinks it necessary, in the interests of stability of currency and credit, to endure the loss of interest on the £130,000,000 it holds in gold, and the Government and banks of the United States hold some £250,000,000 in gold at a loss of some £8,000,000 a year in possible interest, is it unreasonable to ask India to hold £20,000,000 in gold as its share of the cost of maintaining the credit system of the world on which its prosperity depends, as compared with the all too small reserve of £50,000,000 or so of gold maintained by the banks in this country?

In the second place it seems advisable, in order to give the maximum amount of confidence, that this reserve of about £20,000,000 in actual gold should be mainly held in India, so as to be available in time of emergency, to stop a fall in exchange by being paid out in return for rupees

which would thus accumulate in the hands of Government, and relieve the temporary redundancy of rupee coins in circulation. When trade improved and more rupees were wanted, the gold would flow back and rupees be taken in exchange. On March 31 last £5,000,000 in gold were held in England on behalf of the Indian Currency Reserve. I would transfer this sum to the Gold Standard Reserve, keeping it in this country, and would gradually build up a reserve of £15,000,000 in gold in India. Let me point out a further reserve of gold in India which might be of use in times of acute crisis. There are £275,000,000 worth of gold in India. If the Government were to notify that, for a limited period, it would accept gold at any treasury throughout India at the rate of R. 15½ to the sovereign, this would probably bring into the Treasuries a large amount of gold in a short time, and this might, if necessary, be shipped to England to help in maintaining the system of credit here and in the world generally. This would, of course, mean a loss of £17,000 per £1,000,000; but that might be, in such a case of emergency, a small price to pay for the advantages gained in stopping a panic. This resource is available in India because of the double legal tender. It could not be adopted in this country so long as holders of £5 notes can demand sovereigns from the Bank of England for them; nor could it be adopted in India if Government established a gold currency and made itself liable to be compelled to cash its currency notes in gold.

If at any time there was a redundancy of rupees and such a demand for gold that the gold reserve was exhausted, the Government should either obtain gold from outside by borrowing, if necessary, or maintain the stability of exchange at all costs by selling gold bills on London in exchange for rupees in India at rs. 3½d. per rupee; but with a reserve of £20,000,000 in gold to draw upon, such a crisis could hardly occur.

Three years ago £1,100,000 were diverted from the Gold

Standard Reserve to railway construction, which, according to long-established Indian policy, should be financed from borrowed funds. I suggest that that amount should now be borrowed and repaid to the Gold Standard Reserve, which would then amount to £20,400,000. If this were held in gold and mainly in India, it would be quite sufficient to give a feeling of security, and maintain the stability of exchange, except in a very desperate crisis. There would be no need to add to it by coining more rupees at a profit or by investing part of it at interest. As it would be really a second currency reserve, the proportion of the actual currency reserve to be invested in securities might well be raised from the present 14 crores to one-half of the note circulation, or about 20 crores. The interest from this increased investment of the currency reserve would be some set-off against the loss of interest on the Gold Standard Reserve.

THE IMPORT DUTY ON SILVER.

Although the matter has only a remote connection with currency policy, I should like to draw attention to a curious effect of the customs duty on silver imported into India. Previous to February 25, 1910, it was an *ad valorem* tax of 5 per cent., which, when silver was at 30d. per ounce, meant 1½d. per ounce. On that date it was raised to 4 annas—that is, 4d. per ounce, an increase of, say, 2½d. per ounce. The prices of bar silver in Bombay are quoted in the Indian price-lists at so many rupees per 100 tolas (that is, rupee weights) duty paid, and to ascertain the effect of the enhancement of the Customs duty, I have turned these rates into pence per ounce for the end of March each year, and compared this price with the price of silver in London at the same date. I find that for the twelve years ending 1909 the difference of price was a little over 4d., and as the duty was then about 1½d. per ounce, it seems that about 2½d. per ounce is needed to cover the cost of transport from London to Bombay, profit, risk, etc. In the end of March,

1910, by which time the enhanced duty of 4d. per ounce had taken effect, the difference of price between London and Bombay had widened to nearly 6d. per ounce, and last March it had widened to nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ d., which means that, as one would expect, the imposition of the duty, in the case of a country which imports large quantities of silver, led to a corresponding increase in the price of duty-paid silver inside the country. The rise of price must have affected all uncoined silver (not coined rupees) throughout India, which now has, in consequence of the duty, a value, whether measured in rupees or gold or commodities, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ounce higher than it had before. The same thing happens when the Customs duty on any commodity is suddenly raised. People who happen to be in possession of any stock of that commodity—say, for instance, tea—find their stock commands a higher price than before, and so score an unexpected profit at the cost of consumers. In the case of ordinary perishable commodities, that effect soon wears off, as the quantity which was inside the country when the duty was imposed is consumed and disappears. But silver is not a perishable commodity, and lasts for many years. There are at present in India 2,500,000,000 ounces of silver, of which probably 1,200,000,000 are uncoined. The enhancement of the Customs duty on silver must have presented the fortunate owners of this uncoined silver with $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ounce, and made their property in uncoined silver worth about £12,000,000 more than it would have been had the duty not been enhanced—and this benefit has been conferred upon them at the cost only of future purchasers of silver, who need not buy it unless they like. In the case of the man who still holds uncoined silver—say in the form of ornaments—which he bought while silver was dear, and saw gradually diminish in value with the fall in the value of silver, this is an act of tardy justice, as it restores to his silver part of the exchangeable value which it had lost through causes he could not control. It is an excellent form of tax otherwise also. It brought in nearly

£1,000,000 of Customs duty last year. It is not felt by the purchaser of silver up-country, the villager who buys silver to make ornaments for his wife and children, and who has been accustomed to see silver cost much more than it now does after the addition of the duty. It is therefore not likely to have much effect on the ultimate demand. Last year, after the imposition of the duty, India imported 56,000,000 ounces of silver, which is more than the average net private import of the past ten years. The tax is imposed on an article of luxury which no one need buy. So long, then, as the import of silver does not fall off to any marked extent, this Customs duty might fairly and safely be raised till it brings in the maximum possible income to the State. It has the additional advantage that, by lessening the difference between the price of uncoined silver and of the coined rupee, it lessens the inducement to attempt illicit coinage in India.

SUMMARY OF SUGGESTIONS.

To sum up, I venture to make the following suggestions :

1. As regards its currency policy, the Government of India should continue to make it its main object to maintain the rate of exchange as nearly as possible at fifteen rupees to the sovereign, and should be prepared to incur considerable expenditure in order to secure still further the stability of exchange in all circumstances.
2. It should not bind itself to give gold for rupees or for currency notes, or in any way restrict the extent to which rupees are legal tender in India.
3. When it has acquired a sufficient reserve in gold, it should cancel its offer to give rupees for gold at fifteen rupees to the sovereign, and retain full liberty of choice as to whether it will give gold or rupees in payment of currency notes or of Secretary of State's bills on India. It should maintain the system of double legal tender of either gold or silver to any amount, and take full advantage of it itself.

4. It should announce that, so long as it has at least 15 crores of rupees in its possession, it will not coin any new rupees.

5. It should endeavour to meet any desire there may be for small sums in sovereigns throughout the country, by issuing sovereigns on demand from all important treasuries, but only in small amounts at a time. It should also continue to supply notes and rupees everywhere on demand, except for large amounts, but retain the power to pay gold or rupees according to its own convenience.

6. Should the amount of coined rupees in the possession of Government long remain at or below 15 crores, it should coin new rupees, but not more than 10 crores in any one year.

7. Arrangements should be made for coining sovereigns in India, and for the tentative issue of a ten-rupee gold coin.

8. The Gold Standard Reserve should be held entirely in gold, and mainly in India. It should be drawn upon only when there seems a danger of the rate of exchange falling appreciably below 1s. 4d.

9. £1,100,000 should be borrowed and paid back to the Gold Standard Reserve.

10. Unless the import of silver into India falls off seriously, the Customs duty on silver should be gradually enhanced so as to obtain from it the maximum revenue possible.

STATEMENT No. I.

RATIO BETWEEN GOLD AND SILVER IN EUROPE: NUMBER OF OUNCES OF SILVER THAT COULD BE EXCHANGED FOR AN OUNCE OF GOLD.

| Period A.D. | Place. | Ratio. |
|------------------|-------------|--------|
| 1250-1300 | Florence | 10·9 |
| 1300-1350 | " | 11·6 |
| 1350-1400 | " | 10·8 |
| 1400-1450 | " | 10·4 |
| 1450-1500 | " | 10·4 |
| 1500-1550 | Netherlands | 10·6 |
| 1550-1600 | " | 11·3 |
| 1600-1650 | " | 12·6 |
| 1650-1700 | " | 14·2 |
| 1725 | Hamburg | 15·1 |
| 1750 | " | 14·6 |
| 1775 | " | 14·7 |
| 1800 | " | 15·7 |
| 1825 | " | 15·7 |
| 1850 | London | 15·7 |
| 1875 | " | 16·6 |
| 1900 | " | 33·3 |
| 1910 | " | 38·0 |

STATEMENT No. II.

RATIO BETWEEN GOLD AND SILVER IN LONDON: VALUE OF SILVER IN PENCE PER OUNCE IN LONDON; VALUE OF THE RUPEE IN GOLD.

| Year. | Price of Silver in London in Pence per Ounce. | Ratio between Gold and Silver. | Price in London in Pence of 180 Grains of Silver—i.e., Weight of Rupee in Silver. | Average Rate of Exchange in Pence per Rupee. |
|----------|---|--------------------------------|---|--|
| 1861 ... | 61·8 | 15·3 | 23·2 | 23·9 |
| 1862 ... | 61·4 | 15·4 | 23·0 | 23·9 |
| 1863 ... | 61·4 | 15·4 | 23·0 | 23·9 |
| 1864 ... | 61·4 | 15·4 | 23·0 | 23·9 |
| 1865 ... | 61·1 | 15·4 | 22·9 | 23·8 |
| 1866 ... | 61·1 | 15·4 | 22·9 | 23·1 |
| 1867 ... | 60·6 | 15·6 | 22·7 | 23·3 |
| 1868 ... | 60·5 | 15·6 | 22·7 | 23·1 |
| 1869 ... | 60·4 | 15·6 | 22·6 | 23·3 |
| 1870 ... | 60·6 | 15·6 | 22·7 | 22·6 |

STATEMENT No. II.—Continued.

| Year. | Price of Silver in London in Pence per Ounce. | Ratio between Gold and Silver. | Price in London in Pence of 180 Grains of Silver—i.e., Weight of Rupee in Silver. | Average Rate of Exchange in Pence per Rupee. |
|----------|--|---|--|---|
| 1871 ... | 60·6 | 15·6 | 22·7 | 23·0 |
| 1872 ... | 60·2 | 15·6 | 22·6 | 22·8 |
| 1873 ... | 59·2 | 15·9 | 22·1 | 22·3 |
| 1874 ... | 58·3 | 16·2 | 21·9 | 22·2 |
| 1875 ... | 56·8 | 16·6 | 21·3 | 21·6 |
| 1876 ... | 53·1 | 17·8 | 19·9 | 20·5 |
| 1877 ... | 54·8 | 17·2 | 20·6 | 20·8 |
| 1878 ... | 52·6 | 17·9 | 19·7 | 19·9 |
| 1879 ... | 51·2 | 18·4 | 19·2 | 19·9 |
| 1880 ... | 52·2 | 18·0 | 19·6 | 20·0 |
| 1881 ... | 51·7 | 18·2 | 19·4 | 19·9 |
| 1882 ... | 51·6 | 18·2 | 19·4 | 19·5 |
| 1883 ... | 50·6 | 18·6 | 19·0 | 19·5 |
| 1884 ... | 50·6 | 18·6 | 19·0 | 19·3 |
| 1885 ... | 48·6 | 19·4 | 18·2 | 18·3 |
| 1886 ... | 45·4 | 20·7 | 17·0 | 17·4 |
| 1887 ... | 44·6 | 21·1 | 16·7 | 16·9 |
| 1888 ... | 42·9 | 22·0 | 16·1 | 16·4 |
| 1889 ... | 42·7 | 22·1 | 16·0 | 16·6 |
| 1890 ... | 47·7 | 19·2 | 17·9 | 18·1 |
| 1891 ... | 45·1 | 20·9 | 16·9 | 16·7 |
| 1892 ... | 39·8 | 23·7 | 14·9 | 15·0 |
| 1893 ... | 35·6 | 26·5 | 13·4 | 14·5 |
| 1894 ... | 28·9 | 32·6 | 10·8 | 13·1 |
| 1895 ... | 29·9 | 31·6 | 11·2 | 13·6 |
| 1896 ... | 30·8 | 30·7 | 11·6 | 14·4 |
| 1897 ... | 27·6 | 34·1 | 10·4 | 15·4 |
| 1898 ... | 26·9 | 35·0 | 10·1 | 15·98 |
| 1899 ... | 27·4 | 34·3 | 10·3 | 16·07 |
| 1900 ... | 28·2 | 33·3 | 10·6 | 15·97 |
| 1901 ... | 27·2 | 34·7 | 10·2 | 15·99 |
| 1902 ... | 24·1 | 39·2 | 9·0 | 16·00 |
| 1903 ... | 24·8 | 38·0 | 9·3 | 16·05 |
| 1904 ... | 26·4 | 35·8 | 9·9 | 16·04 |
| 1905 ... | 27·8 | 33·9 | 10·4 | 16·04 |
| 1906 ... | 30·9 | 30·5 | 11·6 | 16·08 |
| 1907 ... | 30·2 | 31·2 | 11·3 | 16·03 |
| 1908 ... | 24·4 | 38·7 | 9·2 | 15·96 |
| 1909 ... | 23·7 | 39·8 | 8·9 | 16·04 |
| 1910 ... | 24·6 | 38·0 | 9·2 | 16·06 |

AVERAGES FOR PERIODS OF TEN YEARS.

| | | | | |
|-----------|------|------|------|------|
| 1861-1870 | 61·0 | 15·5 | 22·9 | 23·5 |
| 1871-1880 | 55·9 | 16·9 | 21·0 | 21·3 |
| 1881-1890 | 47·7 | 19·8 | 17·9 | 18·2 |
| 1891-1900 | 32·0 | 30·3 | 12·0 | 15·1 |
| 1901-1910 | 26·4 | 35·9 | 9·9 | 16·0 |

STATEMENT No. III.

FLUCTUATIONS IN EXCHANGE VALUE IN ENGLAND OF (a) GOLD,
(b) SILVER, AS MEASURED IN FORTY-FIVE COMMODITIES—BASED
ON MR. SAUERBECK'S TABLE OF PRICES—THE AVERAGE FOR
THE ELEVEN YEARS, 1867-1877, BEING TAKEN AS 100.—INDEX
NUMBERS.

| Year. | Mr. Sauer- beck's Index Number of Gold Prices. | Exchange Value of Gold. | Gold Price of Silver in Pence per Ounce. | Index Num- ber of Silver Measured in Gold. | Index Num- ber of Silver Measured in Com- modities. |
|----------|---|-------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1861 ... | 98 | 102 | 62 | 106 | 108 |
| 1862 ... | 101 | 99 | 61 | 104 | 103 |
| 1863 ... | 103 | 97 | 61 | 104 | 101 |
| 1864 ... | 105 | 95 | 61 | 104 | 99 |
| 1865 ... | 101 | 99 | 61 | 104 | 103 |
| 1866 ... | 102 | 98 | 61 | 104 | 102 |
| 1867 ... | 100 | 100 | 61 | 104 | 104 |
| 1868 ... | 99 | 101 | 61 | 104 | 105 |
| 1869 ... | 98 | 102 | 60 | 103 | 105 |
| 1870 ... | 96 | 104 | 61 | 104 | 108 |
| 1871 ... | 100 | 100 | 61 | 104 | 104 |
| 1872 ... | 109 | 92 | 60 | 103 | 95 |
| 1873 ... | 111 | 90 | 59 | 101 | 91 |
| 1874 ... | 102 | 98 | 58 | 99 | 97 |
| 1875 ... | 96 | 104 | 57 | 97 | 101 |
| 1876 ... | 95 | 105 | 53 | 91 | 96 |
| 1877 ... | 94 | 106 | 55 | 94 | 100 |
| 1878 ... | 87 | 115 | 53 | 91 | 105 |
| 1879 ... | 83 | 120 | 51 | 87 | 104 |
| 1880 ... | 88 | 114 | 52 | 89 | 101 |
| 1881 ... | 85 | 118 | 52 | 89 | 105 |
| 1882 ... | 84 | 119 | 52 | 89 | 106 |
| 1883 ... | 82 | 122 | 51 | 87 | 106 |
| 1884 ... | 76 | 132 | 51 | 87 | 115 |
| 1885 ... | 72 | 139 | 49 | 84 | 117 |
| 1886 ... | 69 | 145 | 45 | 77 | 112 |
| 1887 ... | 68 | 147 | 45 | 77 | 113 |
| 1888 ... | 70 | 143 | 43 | 74 | 106 |
| 1889 ... | 72 | 139 | 43 | 74 | 103 |
| 1890 ... | 72 | 139 | 48 | 82 | 114 |

STATEMENT No. III.—Continued.

| Year. | Mr. Sauer- beck's Index Number of Gold Prices. | Exchange Value of Gold. | Gold Price of Silver in Pence per Ounce. | Index Num- ber of Silver Measured in Gold. | Index Num- ber of Silver Measured in Com- modities. |
|----------|---|-------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1891 ... | 72 | 139 | 45 | 77 | 107 |
| 1892 ... | 68 | 147 | 40 | 68 | 100 |
| 1893 ... | 68 | 147 | 36 | 61 | 90 |
| 1894 ... | 63 | 159 | 29 | 50 | 80 |
| 1895 ... | 62 | 161 | 30 | 51 | 82 |
| 1896 ... | 61 | 164 | 31 | 53 | 87 |
| 1897 ... | 62 | 161 | 28 | 48 | 77 |
| 1898 ... | 64 | 156 | 27 | 46 | 72 |
| 1899 ... | 68 | 147 | 27 | 46 | 68 |
| 1900 ... | 75 | 133 | 28 | 48 | 64 |
| 1901 ... | 70 | 143 | 27 | 46 | 66 |
| 1902 ... | 69 | 145 | 24 | 41 | 59 |
| 1903 ... | 69 | 145 | 25 | 43 | 62 |
| 1904 ... | 70 | 143 | 26 | 44 | 63 |
| 1905 ... | 72 | 139 | 28 | 48 | 67 |
| 1906 ... | 77 | 130 | 31 | 53 | 69 |
| 1907 ... | 80 | 125 | 30 | 51 | 64 |
| 1908 ... | 73 | 137 | 24 | 41 | 55 |
| 1909 ... | 74 | 135 | 24 | 41 | 55 |
| 1910 ... | 78 | 128 | 25 | 43 | 55 |

AVERAGES FOR PERIODS OF TEN YEARS.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| 1861-1870 | 100 | 100 | 61 | 104 | 104 |
| 1871-1880 | 96 | 104 | 56 | 96 | 99 |
| 1881-1890 | 75 | 134 | 48 | 82 | 110 |
| 1891-1900 | 66 | 151 | 32 | 55 | 83 |
| 1901-1910 | 73 | 137 | 26 | 45 | 62 |

NOTE.—The gold price of silver averaged 58·5 pence per ounce for the eleven years, 1867-1877.

STATEMENT No. IV.

INDEX NUMBER OF RUPEE COIN MEASURED IN GOLD AND IN
COMMODITIES IN ENGLAND.

| Year. | Gold Value of Rupee in Pence. | Index Number of Rupee Measured in Gold. | Index Number of Gold Measured in Commodities. | Index Number of Rupee Measured in Commodities |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Average of eleven years, 1867-1877 | 22·3 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 1891 | 16·7 | 75 | 139 | 104 |
| 1892 | 15·0 | 67 | 147 | 98 |
| 1893 | 14·5 | 65 | 147 | 96 |
| 1894 | 13·1 | 59 | 159 | 94 |
| 1895 | 13·6 | 61 | 161 | 98 |
| 1896 | 14·5 | 65 | 164 | 107 |
| 1897 | 15·4 | 69 | 161 | 111 |
| 1898 | 16·0 | 72 | 156 | 112 |
| 1899 | 16·1 | 72 | 147 | 106 |
| 1900 | 16·0 | 72 | 133 | 96 |
| 1901 | 16 | 72 | 143 | 103 |
| 1902 | 16 | 72 | 145 | 104 |
| 1903 | 16 | 72 | 145 | 104 |
| 1904 | 16 | 72 | 143 | 103 |
| 1905 | 16 | 72 | 139 | 100 |
| 1906 | 16 | 72 | 130 | 94 |
| 1907 | 16 | 72 | 125 | 90 |
| 1908 | 16 | 72 | 137 | 99 |
| 1909 | 16 | 72 | 135 | 97 |
| 1910 | 16 | 72 | 128 | 92 |
| Averages: | | | | |
| 1891-1900 ... | 15·1 | 68 | 151 | 102 |
| 1901-1910 ... | 16·0 | 72 | 137 | 99 |

STATEMENT No. V.
WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD.

| Period. | Number of Years. | Average Annual Production. | |
|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| | | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth. |
| 1493-1545 | 53 | 0·21 | 0·9 |
| 1545-1600 | 55 | 0·23 | 1·0 |
| 1600-1660 | 60 | 0·28 | 1·2 |
| 1660-1700 | 40 | 0·33 | 1·4 |
| 1700-1760 | 60 | 0·61 | 2·6 |
| 1760-1800 | 40 | 0·63 | 2·7 |
| 1800-1850 | 50 | 0·75 | 3·2 |
| 1850-1900 | 50 | 6·6 | 28 |
| 1901-1910 | 10 | 18·3 | 78 |

ADDITION TO WORLD'S STOCK OF GOLD.

| Period. | Number of Years. | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth. |
|------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1493-1660 | 168 | 41 | 173 |
| 1661-1850 | 190 | 113 | 480 |
| 1850-1900 | 50 | 334 | 1,400 |
| 1901-1910 | 10 | 183 | 780 |
| Total | 418 | 671 | 2,833 |

WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD—Continued.

| Periods of Ten Years. | Annual Average Production. | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth. |
| 1801-1810 | 0·57 | 2·5 |
| 1811-1820 | 0·37 | 1·6 |
| 1821-1830 | 0·46 | 2·0 |
| 1831-1840 | 0·65 | 2·8 |
| 1841-1850 | 1·8 | 7·7 |
| 1851-1860 | 6·4 | 27 |
| 1861-1870 | 6·1 | 26 |
| 1871-1880 | 5·6 | 24 |
| 1881-1890 | 5·1 | 22 |
| 1890-1900 | 10·2 | 43 |
| 1900-1910 | 18·3 | 78 |
| Total for last seventy years | 535 | 2,280 |

WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD—*Continued.*

| Year. | Actual Production per Annum. | |
|-------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth. |
| 1901 | 12.9 | 55 |
| 1902 | 14.4 | 61 |
| 1903 | 15.8 | 67 |
| 1904 | 16.7 | 71 |
| 1905 | 18.3 | 78 |
| 1906 | 19.4 | 82 |
| 1907 | 20.0 | 85 |
| 1908 | 21.5 | 91 |
| 1909 | 22.1 | 94 |
| 1910 | 22.1 | 94 |

STATEMENT No. Va.

STOCK OF GOLD IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES ON DECEMBER 31, 1909,
ACCORDING TO DIRECTOR OF UNITED STATES MINT, IN MILLIONS
OF POUNDS STERLING (TAKING 5 DOLLARS = £1).

| Country. | In Banks and Public Treasuries. | In Circulation. | Total. |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| United States ... | 249 | 78 | 328 |
| Russia | 121 | 59 | 180 |
| France | 135 | 51 | 185 |
| United Kingdom ... | 48 | 65 | 113 |
| Austria-Hungary ... | 55 | 17 | 72 |
| Italy | 57 | — | 57 |
| Germany | 38 | — | 38 |
| Australia | 32 | 3 | 35 |
| Argentina | 34 | — | 34 |
| Total, including other countries | 941 | 318 | 1,259 |

STATEMENT No. VI.

ABSORPTION OF GOLD BY INDIA (ANNUAL AVERAGE IN MILLIONS OF £ WORTH).

| Periods of Ten Years. | Net Import. | Production. | Absorption. |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1841-1850 | 0.6 | — | 0.6 |
| 1851-1860 | 2.1 | — | 2.1 |
| 1861-1870 | 6.0 | — | 6.0 |
| 1871-1880 | 1.4 | — | 1.4 |
| 1881-1890 | 2.9 | — | 2.9 |
| 1891-1900 | 1.8 | 1.0 | 2.8 |
| 1900-1910 | 6.0 | 2.2 | 8.2 |
| Total for seventy years | 20.8 | 3.2 | 24.0 |

ABSORPTION OF GOLD BY INDIA—Continued.

| Year ending March 31. | Net Private Imports. | Government Exports. | Production. | Absorption. |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1891 | 4.2 | — | 0.4 | 4.6 |
| 1892 | 1.6 | — | 0.5 | 2.1 |
| 1893 | 1.8 | — | 0.6 | 1.2 |
| 1894 | 0.4 | — | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| 1895 | 2.7 | — | 0.8 | 1.9 |
| 1896 | 1.4 | — | 1.1 | 2.5 |
| 1897 | 1.4 | — | 1.4 | 2.8 |
| 1898 | 3.2 | — | 1.5 | 4.7 |
| 1899 | 4.3 | — | 1.6 | 5.9 |
| 1900 | 6.3 | — | 1.8 | 8.1 |
| 1901 | 5.0 | 4.5 | 1.9 | 2.4 |
| 1902 | 3.3 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 3.2 |
| 1903 | 6.4 | 0.5 | 2.0 | 7.9 |
| 1904 | 10.9 | 4.3 | 2.3 | 8.9 |
| 1905 | 12.0 | 5.6 | 2.4 | 8.8 |
| 1906 | 6.3 | 6.0 | 2.4 | 2.7 |
| 1907 | 9.8 | — | 2.2 | 12.0 |
| 1908 | 11.5 | — | 2.1 | 13.6 |
| 1909 | 3.1 | 0.2 | 2.2 | 5.1 |
| 1910 | 14.5 | — | 2.2 | 16.7 |
| Average of ten years: | | | | |
| 1891-1900 | 1.8 | 25.498 | 1.1 | 2.9 |
| 1901-1910 | 8.3 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 8.2 |
| 1911 | 16.0 | — | 2.5 | 18.5 |

STATEMENT No. VII.

WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF SILVER.

| Period. | Number of Years. | Average Annual Production. | |
|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth at Ratio of Exchange of the Time. |
| 1493-1545 | 53 | 2 | 0.8 |
| 1545-1600 | 55 | 12 | 4.1 |
| 1600-1660 | 60 | 13 | 4.1 |
| 1660-1700 | 40 | 11 | 3.2 |
| 1700-1760 | 60 | 15 | 4.1 |
| 1760-1800 | 40 | 25 | 7.2 |
| 1800-1850 | 50 | 21 | 5.8 |
| 1850-1900 | 50 | 80 | 15 |
| 1901-1910 | 10 | 182 | 20 |

ADDITION TO WORLD'S STOCK OF SILVER.

| — Period. | Number of Years. | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth at Ratio of the Time. |
|------------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| 1493-1660 | 168 | 1,490 | 514 |
| 1661-1850 | 190 | 3,320 | 952 |
| 1850-1900 | 50 | 4,010 | 750 |
| 1901-1910 | 10 | 1,820 | 200 |
| Total | 418 | 10,640 | 2,416 |

WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF SILVER—Continued.

| Periods of Ten Years. | Annual Average Production. | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth at Ratio of the Time. |
| 1801-1810 | 29 | 7.2 |
| 1811-1820 | 17 | 4.2 |
| 1821-1830 | 15 | 3.8 |
| 1831-1840 | 19 | 4.8 |
| 1841-1850 | 25 | 6.2 |
| 1851-1860 | 29 | 7.2 |
| 1861-1870 | 39 | 9.8 |
| 1871-1880 | 71 | 16.3 |
| 1881-1890 | 100 | 20.0 |
| 1891-1900 | 162 | 31.5 |
| 1900-1910 | 182 | 20.0 |
| Total for last seventy years | 6,080 | 1,010 |

STATEMENT No. VIII.
ABSORPTION OF SILVER BY INDIA.

| Period of Ten Years. | Average Annual Net Import. | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth at Rate of Exchange of the Time. |
| 1841-1850 | 6 | 1.5 |
| 1851-1860 | 25 | 6.3 |
| 1861-1870 | 39 | 9.7 |
| 1871-1880 | 20 | 4.6 |
| 1881-1890 | 28 | 6.0 |
| 1891-1900 | 35 | 5.4 |
| 1901-1910 | 72 | 8.8 |
| Total for seventy years ... | 2,250 | 423 |

ABSORPTION OF SILVER BY INDIA—Continued.

| Years Ending March 31. | Millions of Ounces. | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Net Private Import. | Net Import by Government. | Total Net Import. |
| 1901 | 10 | 40 | 50 |
| 1902 | 34 | 5 | 39 |
| 1903 | 44 | 0 | 44 |
| 1904 | 43 | 36 | 79 |
| 1905 | 38 | 36 | 74 |
| 1906 | 29 | 56 | 85 |
| 1907 | 35 | 83 | 118 |
| 1908 | 53 | 45 | 98 |
| 1909 | 74 | — | 74 |
| 1910 | 62 | — | 62 |
| 1911 | 56 | — | 56 |

STATEMENT No. IX.

IMPORT AND EXPORT OF GOLD AND SILVER INTO AND OUT OF INDIA
BY THE GOVERNMENT.

| Year Ending March 31. | Gold Exported. | Silver Imported. | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Millions of £ Worth. | Millions of Ounces. | Millions of £ Worth. |
| 1901 | 4.5 | 40 | 5.4 |
| 1902 | 2.0 | 5 | 0.6 |
| 1903 | 0.5 | — | — |
| 1904 | 4.3 | 36 | 4.1 |
| 1905 | 5.6 | 36 | 4.3 |
| 1906 | 6.0 | 56 | 7.1 |
| 1907 | — | 83 | 11.5 |
| 1908 | — | 45 | 6.3 |
| 1909 | 0.2 | — | — |
| 1910 | — | — | — |
| Total for ten years ... | 23 | 301 | 39 |

STATEMENT No. X.

INDIA: SEA-BORNE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, INCLUDING TREASURE AND
GOVERNMENT TRANSACTIONS (FIGURES IN MILLIONS).

| Year ending March 31. | Imports. | | Exports. | |
|-----------------------|----------|----|----------|----|
| | Rs. | £ | Rs. | £ |
| 1870 | 469 | 46 | 535 | 52 |
| 1871 | 399 | 38 | 576 | 54 |
| 1872 | 437 | 42 | 647 | 63 |
| 1873 | 364 | 34 | 566 | 54 |
| 1874 | 396 | 36 | 569 | 53 |
| 1875 | 444 | 41 | 580 | 54 |
| 1876 | 442 | 40 | 603 | 54 |
| 1877 | 489 | 42 | 650 | 55 |
| 1878 | 588 | 51 | 674 | 58 |
| 1879 | 449 | 37 | 649 | 54 |
| 1880 | 528 | 44 | 692 | 58 |

STATEMENT No. X.—Continued.

| Year ending March 31. | | | Imports. | | Exports. | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|
| | | | Rs. | £ | Rs. | £ |
| 1881 | ... | ... | 621 | 52 | 760 | 63 |
| 1882 | ... | ... | 604 | 50 | 831 | 69 |
| 1883 | ... | ... | 655 | 55 | 845 | 70 |
| 1884 | ... | ... | 682 | 57 | 892 | 74 |
| 1885 | ... | ... | 696 | 55 | 852 | 67 |
| 1886 | ... | ... | 711 | 53 | 850 | 64 |
| 1887 | ... | ... | 728 | 52 | 902 | 64 |
| 1888 | ... | ... | 788 | 56 | 921 | 65 |
| 1889 | ... | ... | 832 | 55 | 988 | 66 |
| 1890 | ... | ... | 867 | 60 | 1,054 | 72 |
| 1891 | ... | ... | 939 | 70 | 1,023 | 77 |
| 1892 | ... | ... | 842 | 60 | 1,115 | 80 |
| 1893 | ... | ... | 833 | 52 | 1,136 | 71 |
| 1894 | ... | ... | 955 | 58 | 1,106 | 67 |
| 1895 | ... | ... | 831 | 45 | 1,171 | 63 |
| 1896 | ... | ... | 863 | 49 | 1,186 | 67 |
| 1897 | ... | ... | 892 | 54 | 1,089 | 66 |
| 1898 | ... | ... | 942 | 60 | 1,048 | 67 |
| 1899 | ... | ... | 900 | 60 | 1,202 | 80 |
| 1900 | ... | ... | 960 | 64 | 1,170 | 78 |
| 1901 | ... | ... | 1,050 | 70 | 1,215 | 81 |
| 1902 | ... | ... | 1,095 | 73 | 1,365 | 91 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | 1,110 | 74 | 1,395 | 93 |
| 1904 | ... | ... | 1,305 | 87 | 1,680 | 112 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | 1,440 | 96 | 1,740 | 116 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | 1,440 | 96 | 1,770 | 118 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | 1,620 | 108 | 1,830 | 122 |
| 1908 | ... | ... | 1,785 | 119 | 1,830 | 122 |
| 1909 | ... | ... | 1,515 | 101 | 1,595 | 106 |
| 1910 | ... | ... | 1,602 | 107 | 1,944 | 130 |
| 1911 | ... | ... | 1,735 | 116 | 2,163 | 144 |

AVERAGES FOR PERIODS OF TEN YEARS.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-------|----|-------|-----|
| 1871-1880 | ... | 454 | 41 | 621 | 56 |
| 1881-1890 | ... | 718 | 55 | 890 | 67 |
| 1891-1900 | ... | 896 | 57 | 1,125 | 72 |
| 1901-1910 | ... | 1,396 | 93 | 1,635 | 109 |

STATEMENT No. XI.
LAND REVENUE RECEIPTS IN INDIA.

| Year ending March 31. | Crores of Rupees. | Millions of £. |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1869 | 19.9 | 19.3 |
| 1870 | 21.1 | 20.4 |
| 1871 | 20.6 | 19.3 |
| 1872 | 20.5 | 19.7 |
| 1873 | 21.3 | 20.2 |
| 1874 | 21.0 | 19.6 |
| 1875 | 21.3 | 19.7 |
| 1876 | 21.5 | 19.4 |
| 1877 | 19.5 | 16.7 |
| 1878 | 19.6 | 17.0 |
| 1879 | 22.0 | 18.3 |
| 1880 | 21.9 | 18.2 |
| 1881 | 21.1 | 17.6 |
| 1882 | 21.9 | 18.2 |
| 1883 | 21.9 | 17.8 |
| 1884 | 22.4 | 18.2 |
| 1885 | 21.9 | 17.6 |
| 1886 | 22.6 | 17.2 |
| 1887 | 23.1 | 16.7 |
| 1888 | 23.2 | 16.3 |
| 1889 | 23.0 | 15.9 |
| 1890 | 24.0 | 16.6 |
| 1891 | 24.0 | 18.1 |
| 1892 | 24.0 | 16.7 |
| 1893 | 24.9 | 15.6 |
| 1894 | 25.6 | 15.5 |
| 1895 | 25.4 | 14.0 |
| 1896 | 26.2 | 14.8 |
| 1897 | 24.0 | 14.5 |
| 1898 | 25.7 | 16.4 |
| 1899 | 27.5 | 18.3 |
| 1900 | 25.8 | 17.2 |
| 1901 | 26.2 | 17.5 |
| 1902 | 27.4 | 18.3 |
| 1903 | 27.6 | 18.4 |
| 1904 | 28.8 | 19.2 |
| 1905 | 28.3 | 18.9 |
| 1906 | 28.2 | 18.8 |
| 1907 | 29.7 | 19.8 |
| 1908 | 28.0 | 18.7 |
| 1909 | 29.7 | 19.8 |
| 1910 | 32.0 | 21.3 |
| 1911 (Revised) ... | 31.5 | 21.0 |
| 1912 (Budget) ... | 32.1 | 21.4 |

NOTE.—Rupees have been converted into £ at the rate of exchange of the year.

STATEMENT No. XII.

RUPERS AND SMALL SILVER ANNUALLY COINED IN THE INDIAN
MINTS IN MILLIONS OF RUPEES.

| Year ending March 31. | Value of Silver re- ceived into the Mint. | Value of New Silver Coined. | Old Govern- ment of India Coins Received. | Net Addition to Silver Currency. |
|------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Average of ten years : | | | | |
| 1871-1880 | 58 | 57 | 1 | 56 |
| 1881-1890 | 64 | 64 | 4 | 60 |
| 1891 | 129 | 132 | 1 | 131 |
| 1892 | 65 | 56 | 2 | 54 |
| 1893 | 123 | 127 | 2 | 125 |
| 1894 | 44 | 48 | 2 | 46 |
| 1895 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| 1896 | 3 | 3 | 3 | — |
| 1897 | 7 | 6 | 6 | — |
| 1898 | 13 | 10 | 6 | 4 |
| 1899 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| 1900 | 21 | 22 | 9 | 13 |
| 1901 | 152 | 173 | 3 | 170 |
| 1902 | 33 | 51 | 13 | 38 |
| 1903 | 111 | 114 | 81 | 33 |
| 1904 | 133 | 165 | 54 | 112 |
| 1905 | 98 | 114 | 36 | 78 |
| 1906 | 137 | 200 | 31 | 169 |
| 1907 | 212 | 261 | 27 | 234 |
| 1908 | 122 | 181 | 24 | 157 |
| 1909 | 29 | 29 | 29 | — |
| 1910 | 22 | 22 | 22 | — |
| Average of ten years : | | | | |
| 1891-1900 | 41 | 41 | 3 | 38 |
| 1901-1910 | 105 | 131 | 32 | 99 |

STATEMENT No. XIII.

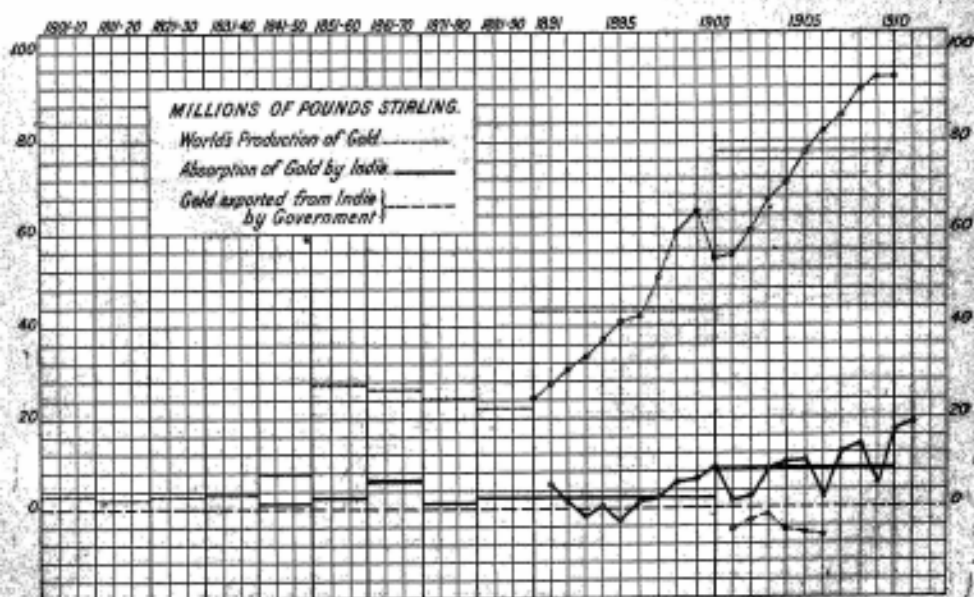
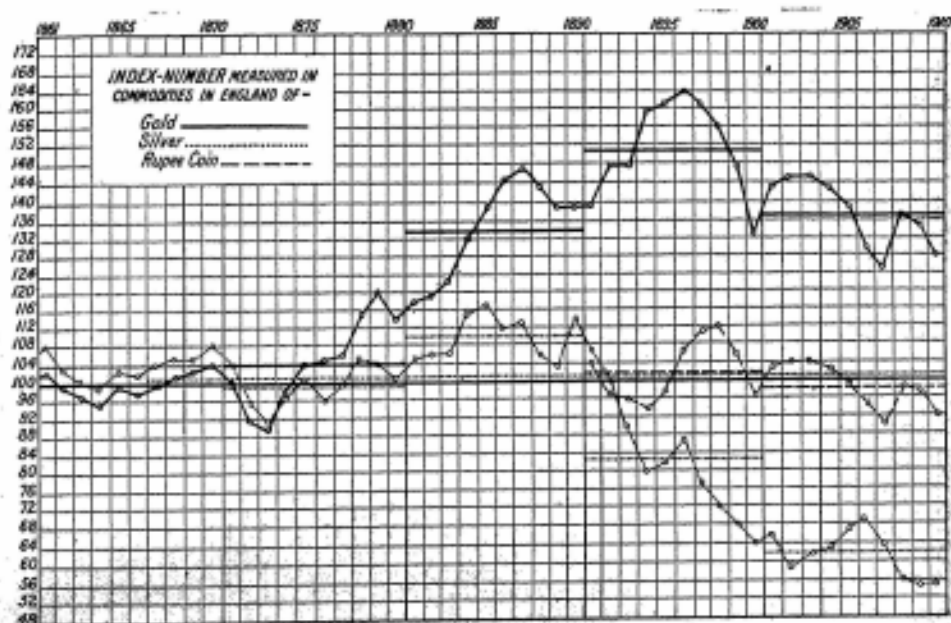
COINED RUPEES HELD BY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, OUTSIDE
TREASURY BALANCES, IN CRORES OF RUPEES.

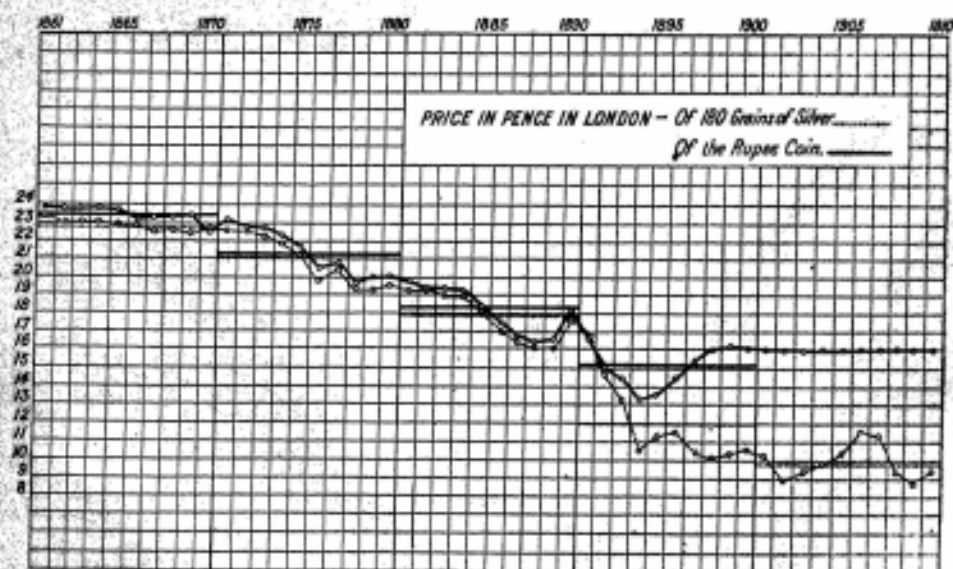
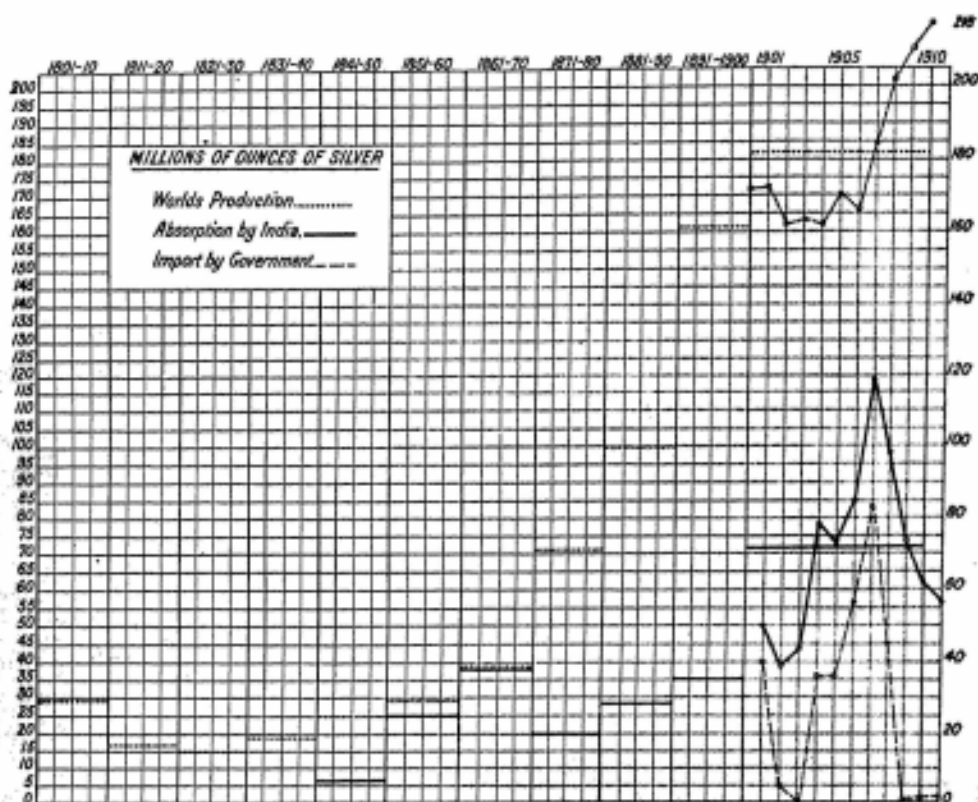
| On March 31. | In Currency Reserve. | In Gold Standard Reserve. | Total. | Treasury Balances in India. |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| 1901 | 9 | — | 9 | 16 |
| 1902 | 11 | — | 11 | 18 |
| 1903 | 11 | — | 11 | 18 |
| 1904 | 11 | — | 11 | 18 |
| 1905 | 11 | — | 11 | 16 |
| 1906 | 14 | — | 14 | 18 |
| 1907 | 14 | 6 | 20 | 15 |
| 1908 | 25 | 6 | 31 | 19 |
| 1909 | 31 | 16 | 47 | 15 |
| 1910 | 30 | 3 | 33 | 18 |
| 1911 | 26 | 3 | 29 | 21 |

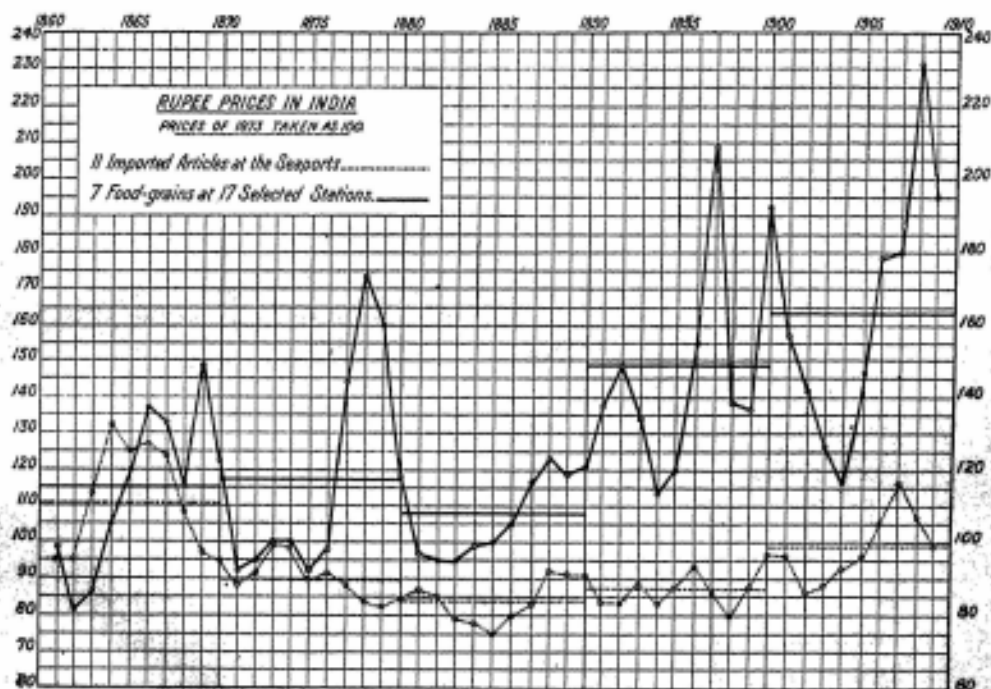
STATEMENT No. XIV.

PRICE (INCLUDING IMPORT DUTY) OF BAR SILVER IN BOMBAY IN
RUPEES PER 100 TOLAS, COMPARED WITH PRICE ON OR ABOUT
THE SAME DATE IN LONDON IN PENCE PER OUNCE.

| End of March. | Price in Bombay. | | Price in London in Pence per Ounce. | Difference of Price in Pence per Ounce. |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| | Rupees per 100 Tolas. | Equivalent Price in Pence per Ounce. | | |
| 1898 | 71 | 30·3 | 25·5 | 4·8 |
| 1899 | 74 | 31·6 | 27·5 | 4·1 |
| 1900 | 73 | 31·1 | 27·6 | 3·5 |
| 1901 | 75 | 32·0 | 27·8 | 4·2 |
| 1902 | 67 | 28·6 | 25·1 | 3·5 |
| 1903 | 60 | 25·6 | 22·8 | 2·8 |
| 1904 | 71 | 30·3 | 25·5 | 4·8 |
| 1905 | 72 | 30·7 | 25·8 | 4·9 |
| 1906 | 80 | 34·1 | 30·0 | 4·1 |
| 1907 | 84 | 35·8 | 30·6 | 5·2 |
| 1908 | 70 | 29·9 | 25·6 | 4·3 |
| 1909 | 63 | 26·9 | 23·2 | 3·7 |
| 1910 | 70 | 29·9 | 24·1 | 5·8 |
| 1911 | 72 | 30·7 | 24·3 | 6·4 |







RACE AND COLOUR PREJUDICE IN INDIA

By W. B. OLDHAM, C.I.E.

THOUGH Miss Hilda M. Howsin's article on "Race and Colour Prejudice" in the *Review* for April, 1911, appeared among the general subjects, its chief interest is in the application of her remarks to India. This was intensified by the discussion at the Caxton Hall, on January 30, 1911, for it was carried on by Indians and Anglo-Indians, and was confined to the case of India. But it was hampered by the fact that Miss Howsin had never been there, and the common ground which a knowledge of the environment and a perception of the atmosphere would have given was wanting. There was also an absence of discrimination, which must have been felt by most of the audience, though no one attempted to define it. So the talk rather wandered round the subject than was directed to its core. The interpretations and generalizations of a writer who did not know the scene and circumstances were questioned or repudiated, and this gave the meeting an appearance of disagreement which, as regards the essential part of the subject, could not really have existed. It was impossible to gather from this discussion by experts where the precise evil lay, and what its specific causes were; so it was profitless to propose the practical remedies, or to indulge in more than pious hopes and exhortations. Analysis and discrimination were wanted, and it is to supply a part

of these requisites that the following remarks are offered. Though written with some acquaintance with almost every province in the sub-continent, they are founded particularly on the example of Bengal Proper. In it the question is most prominent, because its people are foremost in education, and nearest in rivalry with Englishmen. (So small and exceptional a community as the Parsees cannot be counted in this connection, nor indeed do they enter into it at all, for they neither complain nor are they complained of.) And in Bengal there is a much larger number of Englishmen, employed in civil life and on industries, than in any other part of India.

Let the general position which it is sought to analyze first be stated. It has been said that there was no real difference in essentials at the discussion of Miss Howsin's paper. When the disturbances in the Punjab began in 1907, a writer in the *Times*, who was said to be Sir Walter Lawrence, in explaining the circumstances, reminded his readers that, among Indians of any rank and education brought into contact with Englishmen, there was scarcely one who had not actually been, or had not grounds for believing that he had been, grossly insulted by one or some of them at one time or other, even though in most cases this had been due to misunderstanding on one side or on both. This appears to be as compendious a statement of the position as could be framed.

My first point for notice is that the Muhammadans, who are such a large and important section of the people of India, do not complain. It happens that the last victim of outrageous conduct in a railway-carriage was a Muhammadan councillor, but the eccentric behaviour of the "little boy officer," who was the offender in that case, makes it irrelevant in the consideration of general conduct. He drew his sword on his fellow-passenger, and no Muhammadan would call that action an insult, however outrageous he might think it. The Right Honourable Ameer Ali's speech at the Caxton Hall is sufficiently

indicative of my point. The fact is that the Muhammadans have an aloofness, and a grave, stern dignity, which go far to safeguard them against insulting treatment. Ignorant Englishmen who attempt it in their cases seldom knowingly repeat it. They have, too, the quality, called by Mr. Chirol their virility, which makes those from the East coast the best Lascars afloat. Nowhere in India are relations between Englishmen and natives, so far as respect for each other is concerned, more satisfactory than in the Moslem districts of Bengal, especially in those east of the Meghna. In this province, as it may be called, stories of oppression or insult by Englishmen have, for very many years, been unknown. The complaints have been rather on the other side. Such a process, for instance, as constructing a railway requires every step in it to be fortified by the very letter of the law, and this precaution does not always protect the Englishmen engaged, in their dealings with the villagers. This is not the history of road or railway making elsewhere. The dour and puritan Moslem in the north of this tract have always been ready to protect their rights or their feelings with their own right hands—with their heavy bill-hooks, or even with firearms. The lighter-hearted people of the south can use these means too, but have one still more efficacious in preventing later trouble. They go off to the Civil Courts and claim thumping damages. Briefly, insults to the Muhammadans of India do not rankle as they do in other cases with effects that recoil upon ourselves. They will not put up with them, and either retaliate or hold aloof; and in any case they refuse to be humiliated, or to surrender any portion of their pride and self-respect. And it happens that two fomenters of such rankling wounds are absent in their case. They are remarkably free from servility, in contrast with the classes who had learned its uses under their domination. And they enter scarcely at all into rivalry with either Englishmen or Hindus. Their conservatism keeps them from it, and it looks as if they regarded Englishmen and

Hindus as fitted by Providence for the discharge of functions with which they themselves do not care to meddle while they pursue the tenour of their own way. This, of course, refers to the times and business of profound peace only. War, or any necessary resort to force, claims all their interest.

The next class to consider is by far the most numerous in India, though it has never been ascertained, nor properly estimated, how greatly it outnumbers the others. It comprises all those people who work with their hands, or are engaged in servile occupations, who are called Hindus because they are not Muhammadans, but are idolaters, polytheists, or animists. Briefly, they are, still excluding the Muhammadans, the people of India whom the "Indians" subdued, whether by force of arms, as in the Punjab and Ganges valley, or by intellectual supremacy as in Bengal and elsewhere. The best collective name I know for them is "The Dravidians," but it is ambiguous, and, though fairly representative, is not sufficiently comprehensive. They range from animist savages in the forests to the low Hindus, and they pervade the entire land. Taking the sylvan tribesmen as their extreme section, the relations of Englishmen with these primitive peoples are notoriously very good. It is not material to discuss at present what the reasons for this are: whether the engaging simplicity and truthfulness of these people, or their sporting habits, or the flattering preference they show and declare for us against their Hindu and Moslem fellow-countrymen. Whatever the influence may be, it loses force as the people are more civilized or more sophisticated. But it is impossible to say that the display of English race prejudice towards them has political effects in any way proportionate to its reprehensibleness. They are low caste men, and for ages the brand of racial inferiority, and the contumely which goes with it, has been their portion. With them it is the settled order of things, and the closer their approach to Hinduism is, the more this is part of their religion.

For, however glaring the race prejudice of Englishmen in India may be, it is nothing compared with what the "Indians" themselves show to the great majority of their fellow-countrymen, whose claims to be called "Indian" they do not allow for a moment. To Miss Howsin this may seem a hard or dark saying. The differences to which it refers are not apparent on the surface. Therefore they are not striking, and we only recognize them when we have become used to them, and they are to us part of that atmosphere which Miss Howsin has never breathed. Nor is it carried in any way to England, for these outcastes and helots do not come here, while in India, notwithstanding that they so greatly outnumber the others, they are inarticulate.

This notice of the real position is in no sense meant as recrimination. It would be absurd to dispose of the growth and outcome of over two thousand years—the whole fabric of Arya and Dasyu—by platitudes drawn from English analogies or developments. But, if we are to ascertain causes and their effects, this analysis is an essential part of the inquiry. Nor is it to be forgotten that those whom we look on as "the best Indians" utterly condemn the state of things referred to, as some of their prophets have revolted against it in the past, and some of their societies are working against it now. Meanwhile, let us see how, in some cases, it affects Englishmen and their conduct to the people of India. Take the case of the young assistant at an indigo factory or a colliery, or in a mill or an office in one of the commercial cities. He is quick to learn the superficial observances of Indian etiquette, in such matters as retaining or doffing the head-covering and the shoes; and sometimes to misinterpret them with ludicrous, or tragic, results.* He sees the demeanour of the Indian employes to the low caste men and the outcastes—to him merely that of higher-

* I have repeatedly interposed, to save from reproof or punishment, a man who had taken off his head-covering in token of abject submission, because the action was taken for disrespect.

grade to lower-grade "natives." No lesson is easier to learn, and perhaps the first person to whom he applies it is a Brahman youth, with his heritage of two thousand years, whom he cannot distinguish from the fruit-seller's or the courtesan's son, who, too, is fair and slender, and is similarly clad. Not all seeming *Bhadra lok* are *Bhadra lok* by any means. In many circumstances it is difficult for Europeans to distinguish the appearance of the sons of the twice born and of the low born. Muhammadans, be it noted, do not set this kind of example. Some of them are just as capable of aristocratic exclusiveness as the high Hindus, but their creed makes them remember that even the outcastes are their fellow-men, and potential members of Islam. And many of them have come from the depressed classes, a fact borne in mind by the Indians when they use the expression "low Muhammadans," which is so often heard from them.

Finally, the martial races of India do not enter into these considerations; and, least of all, those members of them who serve in the Army. Their treatment has always been a matter for the greatest vigilance, and the complaint rather is that their self-respect has been exaggerated and pampered by their British officers. To prevent any misinterpretation, my concluding remarks are confined to the instance which is afforded by Bengal, as it supplies no soldiers in the combatant ranks. All the circumstances from which the moral of Miss Howsin's article is drawn exist in it to the fullest extent.

Who, then, form the residuum among whom the exhibition of English race prejudice is so much to be deplored, if only because the results are so deplorable? Who but the people of India who are nearest to ourselves, in thought and feeling as well as in race, and who flatter us most sincerely by their imitation of our ways and their receptivity of our teaching? But for their aid the administration of the country by us would be impossible. They supply teachers, men of learning and science, lawyers, judges, orators and

statesmen, and the examples of our system of whom we are most proud. And they give us our closest and most trusted Indian friends. They also alone supply the anarchists and seditionists; and it was their women who recently astonished us by their mourning over the body of an assassin who had been hung; just as Englishwomen would have mourned if they believed that the executed criminal was a patriot martyr. They are the high Hindus—the very “Indians” themselves—because their people were the first to come from the sacred Indus and beyond it. And though they are a minority, and a most exclusive one which allows no proselytes, their influence is so commanding that they leaven the entire sub-continent, and give it its name, and are often taken as alone representing it. They are the Arya to whom, before the Moslem came, all the others were Dasyu, and subjected.* And as they have asserted superiority of race, and acted on their claims, to an extent unknown elsewhere in the world, and not paralleled even in the United States of America, so the iron has entered deepest into their souls when they have been treated as racial inferiors. There are other factors to increase the rankling wound.

One of these is the servility, which is still a weakness of these people, intensely aristocratic though they are. In noticing it, all intention of recrimination must again be disclaimed. How long is it since servility has ceased to be a feature in English life? Has it yet wholly disappeared—say in Ireland, for instance? How long is it since the word “snobbishness” was invented to denote the spirit or disposition which now reigns in its stead at home, but has

* This is not an ethnological statement that the high Hindus of Bengal and elsewhere are all Aryans. For the purposes of this paper it is enough that they claim to be so, and that their claim is conceded by those who are really most concerned. It happens that the most recent anthropological methods support rather than refute these claims; and the only reason known to me for discrediting them was the remoteness of these people from the acknowledged Aryan centres, and their position as Colonials amid non-Aryan hordes.

not yet succeeded to it in India? While servility always exposes to contempt, unsuccessful servility carries its won gall. On the other hand, the attitude and demeanour of those who, being conscious of the imputation of servility, are most anxious to repudiate it and show their freedom from it, is very often repellent and provocative.

Another factor is rivalry. English ideas of fair play in rivalry are apt to be extremely conventional, and to be guarded with as artificial limitations and etiquette as those which regulate their cricket or their boxing. When these are absent rivalry is hostility, and in India, except in the field of English sport—polo, horse-racing, football, cricket—they are absent. Perhaps the clearest instance is the relations between the English and the Indian Press. There has been improvement, no doubt, but the original position was that when Indians began to enter freely into rivalry with Englishmen, they were far more generally disdained than welcomed.

What lesson can be drawn from this analysis? Does it only serve to indicate the people of India who can, and those who cannot, be insulted with impunity; and the others whom it is better policy to avoid insulting? Even so caricatured it might be of more practical value than vague appeals, which are only responded to by those for whom the lesson is not needed. The utmost that can be claimed for the attempt at analysis is that it illustrates the need for what Sir Alfred Lyall appealed for—a more serious effort at understanding Indians and India, even though it touches only one portion of a vast field.

On the question of Colour Prejudice India affords some interesting sidelights. Apparently no people laid so much stress on colour as the early Indians. Their first word for caste was "barnna"; that is, colour; and they described the Dasyu, whom they so despised, as black and snub-nosed. This distinction they have had to abandon, as some of the aboriginal people are inclined to be fair, while some of the undoubted "Indians" have become exceedingly dark.

Another point is that Eurasians, no matter how dark their complexions (and sometimes they are coal black) are always treated by Englishmen with a difference, which is, I think, chiefly due to the Eurasians' own assumption of superiority over the "natives." Notwithstanding their colour, they claim and assert this superiority in just as marked a way as Europeans do.

In the foregoing remarks I have used the word "Englishmen" to denote the members of the Imperial race in India to whom my descriptions are applicable, not solely to avoid the appearance of pedantry, or for mere convenience, but also to mark a difference which I believe exists. The ordinary full-blooded and healthy Englishmen has still the characteristics which Goldsmith so admiringly described, at a time when Empire, in its present sense, was undreamed of. The Scotsman, with all his *perseveridum ingenium*, is more patient, less liable to make those mistakes which are the fruit of impatience. He wishes first to know how matters stand. And as he is in India solely for business, he will not allow himself to be diverted from it, or it to be interrupted, or upset, by his not restraining his arrogance or by yielding to the irritation of the moment. There can be few Irishmen who do not know, by vivid tradition or by personal experience, and either for their own people or for the great mass of their fellow-countrymen, what the stigma attaching to a subject race, and the brand of alleged race inferiority, is. Whatever the cause, they are looked on as being more sympathetic by the Indians, who often appeal to them for their sympathy as Irishmen.

Part of Miss Howsin's indictment rests on the exclusiveness of Clubs in India, a matter in which there is plainly misunderstanding. Only the four great Clubs at the Presidency towns can be referred to. I cannot at least recall any others which would refuse to admit such an Indian as, say, the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. The Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Clubs were founded and are maintained exclusively for certain classes of European settlers

in the European Settlements. They rigorously exclude other classes of Europeans, and also exercise their powers of exclusion amongst those who are eligible for them so freely that, from time to time, it is very difficult for a new candidate, however eligible, to gain admission. Their example is no more relevant than would be the exclusiveness of the Carlton or the Reform. At first sight the case of the United Service Club at Calcutta seems different, and somewhat invidious, because so many Indians belong to the services, membership of which gives eligibility for it. Its members, too, have the power of excluding eligible candidates, and though in a somewhat different way, exercise it freely in the case of those whose presence among them they do not think likely to be conducive to harmony, or to their comfort. Social conditions in the Presidency cities, where there is ample room to pick and choose associates, are very different from those in the interior, where officials of certain ranks are necessarily brought together. The case of the Calcutta United Service Club cannot be logically adduced as an instance of race prejudice, though it undoubtedly is one of the differences in thought, habit and feeling between races when they are studying their own private comfort.*

* A dozen years ago, when I was President of this Club, I wanted my junior colleague at the time, now a very distinguished Indian, to be made a member. With his unassuming character, he would have hung back had I proposed this to him, and I first sounded my military colleagues on the Committee, as they fully represented whatever opposition there was likely to be. Personally none of them objected to the innovation, and rather desired it, but one of them pointed out that there were several members of the Club without any experience of Indian society, or opportunity for gaining it, who would feel the unaccustomed presence of an Indian in their hour of ease as a restraint, and that they would blackball my nominee, as they were fully entitled to do. On the same grounds he deprecated any preliminary raising of the question, with a view to securing the election, as likely to do more harm than good. Considering the objects of a Club, and that the power of exclusion is the fundamental point in its constitution, he was of course right at the time, though perhaps the case would be regarded differently now.

A STATUTORY ROYAL VICEROY FOR INDIA.*

BY C. K. VYASA RAO.

I MEAN to confine myself in this paper to a proposal entirely constructive in character, necessary in the growing interests of India, and which is not beyond the range of practical politics.

For some time past, the idea of vesting the Indian Viceroyalty in a member of the Royal Family of England has been occurring to the minds of many people who have thought about Indian affairs; but it has always proceeded upon the assumption of the two offices of Governor-General and Viceroy continuing to remain combined. In this form the proposal is, no doubt, beset with difficulties of a kind, and, if given effect to, may even prove an undesirable innovation. As a constitutional fact, however, there is no office of Viceroy known to the statutes of the realm, and the proposal made herein is the creation by statutory provisions of a Viceroyalty of India, to be held by a member of the Royal Family of Great Britain and Ireland. Such a creation amounts to a separation of the two offices, and the placing of each of them on a separate statutory basis. Should this be done, the difficulties in the way of having a Royal Viceroy for India seem to me to disappear, while a great advance would have been made in the governance of India. The question that at once arises for discussion is the relation of the Viceroy to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India. The actual

* For discussion on this paper see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

administration of India will continue to be carried on by the Governor-General in Council, subject to the direct control of the Secretary of State ; but the Viceroy, as representing the Sovereign, will enjoy the powers, prerogatives, and privileges now enjoyed by the Governor-General in his capacity as Viceroy, and, in addition, certain statutory powers as well. He will take precedence of the Governor-General, will be the fountain-source of all honours, exemptions, and privileges ; will be the authority to whom all appeals for mercy or pardon will be made through the Local Governments ; the person in whose name all Proclamations and Charters will be issued, and all Treaties and Conventions entered into ; all successions to Native States recognized, and to whom all representations from Rulers of Native States of a personal character or touching their sovereign rights will be made through the Governor-General in Council. In matters concerning Native States, he may be aided by an Imperial Council of Chiefs, partly elected by the Chiefs themselves, and partly chosen by the Viceroy. In those cases in which the ruler of a State has to be tried, the Viceroy may constitute a special tribunal, some of whose members may be drawn from the Imperial Council of Chiefs, and the result of the trial may be announced in the name of the Viceroy. It may be further open to the Viceroy to refer any matter of importance to the decision of the British Cabinet.

To enumerate in brief, his functions will be threefold in the main :

Firstly, he will be the source from which all honours, mercy and pardon, Proclamations and Charters, recognition of succession to States, Treaties and Conventions, proceed and emanate.

Secondly, he will be in contact with Rulers of Native States through the Governor-General in Council on the one hand, and the Imperial Council of Chiefs on the other, and will be the determining authority in India in regard to important questions affecting Native States.

Thirdly, in all matters whatsoever, he will possess the extraordinary power of referring any question pertaining to British India or Native States, to the decision of the Cabinet. Such a reference he may make either on his own initiative, or at the instance of one half of the elected or the total number of Chiefs of his Council, or at the instance of the Governor-General, with, or without, the concurrence of the Governor-General's Council, in matters of difference of opinion between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, or at the instance of seven-eighths of the total number of non-official members of the Governor-General's Council. The balance of forces in grave situations will, by this means be controlled by one who is not connected with the practical administration of the country, but who, from the vantage ground furnished by this very fact, will be in a better position to appreciate the issues thereof.

It will be seen that he will watch the machinery rather than work it, will stand as the visible embodiment of royal prerogative and power, and will constitute an open link of great trust and authority between the Indian Empire and the British Constitution.

India will only be too glad to meet the entire cost of the new Viceroyalty ; but to derive from it the maximum benefit, it will be necessary to meet it out of the revenues of the British Exchequer. It will be seen that the Viceroy's place in India has no analogy to the office of the Governor-General or to that of the Secretary of State. The new Viceroyalty will be the embodiment of British Sovereignty in India, the outward expression of British sway and solicitude, detached from the function of administration. Its moral dignity, its imperial significance, its inward grandeur, and the lustre of royalty will all be impaired by the revenues of the Dependency going towards its maintenance.

It now remains for me to advert to those circumstances which not only justify, but call for such a departure as I have suggested. As the Government is at present

constituted in India, the actual official administration of the country is almost identical with the British Constitution in its entirety. There is nothing in it to distinguish the onus and burden of administration from the loftier and the more stable elements of a government, which is so essential in a country that is not self-governing. England is peculiarly fortunate of all countries in the world in having a system of government in which the power ultimately rests with the people, but the stability whereof is secured by the principle of monarchy. A party in power is not identical here with the power that is behind it, and from which it derives its authority for the time being. The unpopularity of the Government here, however widespread, leads to no further trouble than a change of party. If we, on the other hand, turn to India, we find when the Government in India becomes unpopular, British Government becomes unpopular; that there is nothing to distinguish the everyday administration from the power from which that administration derives its authority; that there is not even a visible embodiment of the British Constitution apart from the variable, alterable officialdom, which is a subordinate institution, after all. Any criticism that is levelled against an official policy or programme is levelled against the British Government in India as well. All that tells against a particular administration tells against British occupation itself. It is bad enough in any country to have a permanent officialdom not responsible to the people of the country: it is worse to have a permanent and standing opposition to it, making friction between the two elements inevitable and constant; but it is worst of all to allow that permanent official element to become identified in the minds of the people with the ultimate Constitution itself. The constitution of the Indian Government ought to admit, therefore, of a distinction between the administration and the power from which that administration derives its authority for the time being, and such a distinction can be effectually made for all practical purposes only by retain-

ing a representative authority of the ultimate constitution in its comprehensive character, standing apart from those who carry on the maximum amount of the actual work of administration. Being a member of the Royal Family, a Royal Viceroy will be a proper representative of the King of England, and having the power to refer any matter to the decision of the British Cabinet, he will be a constitutional link between the Indian Empire and its British Sovereignty, and the latter will not suffer in prestige or popularity, except for what is done under its avowed decision; and to that extent British rule in India will remain exempt from the unpopularity which may attend any particular administration.

Further, this suggestion opens up a method by which the decision in a constitutional manner can be obtained of the ultimate custodians for the time being of British rule in India. At present there is no provision for securing even an indication of the fact that in the government of a sixth of the human race the decision of the ultimate rulers for the time being has been obtained in a known, definite and ascertained manner.

When we consider the proposal from the point of view of the Rulers of Native States, its importance becomes all the more apparent and pressing. For loyalty and devotion to an acknowledged suzerain authority, for innate delicacy of feeling, for a quiet resolute adherence to their own ideas of dignity, there is no class of people that can surpass the Princes of India. Some of them must have been feeling, nevertheless, the preponderance of authority centred in the hands of paid officials and the total absence of Royalty in India to whom their representations can be made, and through whom, whatever may have to be set right in their own affairs, may be set right. At all Durbars the solemnity of Royal presence is almost always missed. Whenever a charge is preferred against a Ruling Prince he has to take his trial before any official tribunal that may be constituted, without a Prince serving on it. In most matters pertaining

to themselves there is no method by which the representations of the Princes of India as a body may be methodically and systematically made to the Government. And now the Supreme and Local Executive Councils are being democratized, the feelings of the Princes must be undergoing a rapid transformation as to how far it will be possible for them in the near future to preserve unimpaired, as it used to be before, their sovereign dignity in the eyes of their own subjects and countrymen. The tendency towards democratizing the Government in India is so unmistakable and clear, and perhaps inevitable, that it will be a serious drawback not to think of this process in connection with the effect that it may have on the Rulers of Native States. And if we do think of it, what solution can be half as satisfactory as the creation of a statutory Viceroy who will be of Royal blood, and who will be assisted by an Imperial Council of Chiefs, in regard to their affairs coming up before him through the regular machinery of Government—the Foreign Department of the Government of India.

There is one more point of view from which the suggestion has to be considered—the effect it will have on the masses of the Indian people. To the Indian, a country without a King is a body without the soul. He looks upon official administration as a system that has no human element in it; he sees before him a long, an unending hierarchy of officials, but at the top of it all he finds no rightful head such as a King, and is fairly overtaken by a sense of blank despair when he hears that the Governor-General is but a paid official for a term of years. Of course he knows that these officials are subject to a King in their own country, and he thinks in his heart of hearts, that that country is happy indeed; but for his own, it has fallen into the hands of a paid official class, over whom there is no one who is not an official to rule. Should we, when England is a monarchical country, tolerate such a conviction when we know it is working to the detriment of British power in India?

I may be permitted to briefly allude here to a recent controversy in regard to the relation that ought to subsist between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State ; a controversy in which distinguished combatants have taken sides. On the one hand, we have had so illustrious an authority as Lord Morley proving to the hilt the theory of "agency" by an overwhelming array of Parliamentary provisions and declarations of State. On the other hand, we have the simple, yet irresistible statement of fact from Mr. Valentine Chirol, who has exhibited a profound and masterly grasp of Indian questions, the statement : "The Viceroy is the direct and personal representative of the King-Emperor, and in that capacity, at any rate, it would certainly be improper to describe him as the agent of the Secretary of State." The antithesis herein set forth is bound to persist so long as the Governor-General of India continues to be the Viceroy of the King-Emperor as well. The creation of a Statutory Viceroy who will have no official connection with the Secretary of State, and whose relation to the Cabinet will be no more than that of requiring its decision as a corporate body in special cases, will alone be an unexceptionable solution of the difficulty. Perhaps it may be thought that the official head of the administration must possess the prestige of Viceroy as well ; but we cannot fail to realize at the same time that the prestige of the Viceroy suffers on account of the active rôle he has to play as the chief directing head of the administration on the one hand, and as an admitted instrument of the Secretary of State on the other ; and that when the prestige of the Viceroy suffers, the British Constitution suffers. A Viceroy on whom the burden of administration does not press, on whom no official subordination is imposed, against whom no damaging current of criticism can be kept up day after day as the apologist of the official policy, can alone satisfactorily and completely fulfil the purposes of a representative of the King-Emperor, and prove himself a unifying factor of

eminent service to the Empire, especially at a time when the forces of disintegration under one form or another will continue to be at work.

It would perhaps be better to anticipate a difficulty of a practical kind that may be raised in this connection—whether we should always be able to find a member of the Royal Family to occupy the place of Viceroy. Provision against such a difficulty may be made by enabling His Majesty to choose as His Majesty's absolute prerogative any competent person to occupy the place of Viceroy in the absence of a member of the Royal Family, or to act as Viceroy-Regent when the Royal Viceroy happens to be a minor. If the expediency of, and to a large extent the actual need for the creation of such a constitutional safeguard, which is at the same time a constitutional bond between the two countries as is herein set forth should be agreed upon, difficulties in regard to details may be easily overcome by a little perseverance and patience.

No one would have imagined, before the announcement was actually made, that Their Majesties the King and Queen would proceed to India to hold a Coronation Durbar there. But since it is to be so, will not this be precisely the occasion when the King can leave behind him as his Viceroy a member of the Royal Family, in accordance with statutory provisions that may be enacted by that time? India has far greater need for Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught as the first Viceroy and Vicereine than any other part of the British Dominions, Canada included.

If there is in responsible quarters an earnest appreciation of India's place in the Empire, the need to adopt for British Rule in India a comprehensive basis giving it an integral connection with the British Constitution and the Royal Family of Great Britain, will be accepted as a question of practical moment, which is best solved before Their Majesties visit to India is concluded. The Royal visit is an event unique in the long history of India.

and unique in the annals of England. It is practically the requisition of the greatest reserve factor known to the British Constitution. It devolves on British statesmen, therefore, to realize that it imposes upon them a heavy responsibility in the present conditions of India, necessitating their rising to the full level of so great and momentous an undertaking, so as to avoid any possible reaction on account of the anticipations it may reasonably give rise to not being fulfilled. It is an occasion of supreme fitness for rivetting the bonds between England and India in all possible directions, and for leaving behind a permanent landmark of constitutional import between the two countries. Such a landmark may fittingly take the form of a constitutional link between the Princes and the peoples of India on the one side, and the Royal Family and the British Constitution on the other in the person of a statutory Royal Viceroy. With the forging of such a link, the period of Great Britain's isolation in India—rather, the political isolation of India in the Empire—will terminate, and a new era of growing attachment and increasing trust will dawn, to the mutual benefit of England and India; and not the least important effect of such a departure will be that it will tend to strengthen the basis of Royalty in the United Kingdom and throughout the British Empire.

UNREST AND EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

BY JAMES KENNEDY, I.C.S.

THE chapters which Mr. V. Chirol has devoted to the subject of education in his brilliant essay on "Political Unrest in India" are, perhaps, the most notable part of a notable book; they have at any rate called forth the greatest amount of criticism. And of these criticisms Dr. Miller's little pamphlet is the weightiest. Dr. Miller speaks on the subject with an authority which no other Anglo-Indian possesses. He has devoted a long life to the Madras Christian College, of which he was the Principal, and which the late Sir W. W. Hunter, Chairman of the Educational Commission of 1882-83 declared to be second to none. Dr. Miller was himself a member of that Commission as well as of various Educational Committees, and he has in many ways impressed his views on the educational policy of the country. He therefore speaks with the weight of long experience and full knowledge.

Dr. Miller criticizes three points in Mr. Chirol's representation of the case. Two of these deal with matters of fact. Dr. Miller asserts that Mr. Chirol's representation of the state of education in India and of the Indian student is applicable in the main only to Bengal. He next proceeds to show that Mr. Chirol's criticisms of the policy

* "Unrest and Education in India," by W. Miller, D.D., LL.D., C.I.E.
Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons.

recommended by the Educational Commission of 1882-83, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State, are founded on misapprehension of that policy; and he concludes by contrasting the policy which, in his opinion, ought to be followed for the future with that recommended by Mr. Chirol—a policy which Dr. Miller contends is impossible and retrograde. The whole pamphlet is interesting as virtually a defence of Dr. Miller's life-work, and a picture of what has been done for education in Madras.

Mr. Chirol has represented Bengali students, chiefly on the authority of Dr. Garfield Williams, as for the most part miserably poor, herded together in common lodging-houses, and sometimes in brothels, without proper air or food, without physical exercise, cramming all day and by candle-light text books and lecture notes, which they share in common, in the hope of passing an examination that is the end-all of their education, and the open-sesame to future employment. Ignorant of the world, disappointed in their hopes, cut off from every healthy influence, they easily become the dupes of every agitator, and are the chief instruments of the seditious politician. These evil results are due, according to Mr. Chirol, to a *laissez-faire* policy, "a system, or, rather, want of system," pursued by a Government which has abandoned control of the colleges, and looks only to the output of the examinations. Nevertheless, says Mr. Chirol, "the Bengalis claim the intellectual supremacy of India." Dr. Miller contends that the picture drawn by Mr. Chirol is not true of other parts of India. "I have a pretty full acquaintance with educational matters in every part of India," he says, "and know that a description of such matters in Bengal is not applicable to other divisions of the country." "I do not hesitate to say that in nearly every respect Bengal is the least truly Indian of all the chief provinces of India." "It need not be denied that such dangers and evils as have come to a head in Bengal are perfectly possible elsewhere, or that germs of them are visible in Madras. There, however, the possible

development of these germs was, at all events, foreseen, and in some degree provided against. The measures then taken have not been entirely unsuccessful."

What Dr. Miller says of Madras might be said with equal truth of the United Provinces (formerly known as the North-Western Provinces) and of the Punjab. The boys of the United Provinces were trained almost from the beginning in cricket and football; hostels have existed there for over thirty years, and natal traditions have exercised a strong hold upon the minds of these youths. The influence of the masters upon their pupils has generally been for good, and, despite the attempts of Bengali agitators, the students have abstained from political demonstrations. Certain evils—the tendency to cram, the uprooting of all ancestral beliefs, the substitution of phrases for realities—are common everywhere; but the history of education differs from province to province, according to the nature of its historical antecedents and the genius of the people. The Bengali is sentimental; he excels in rhetoric, but is apt to be shallow. From the commencement of our rule he has taken naturally to the law courts, and even before the advent of the English he spread a knowledge of his language and civilization by means of cheap, popular schools among the aborigines, who form the mass of the population of this province. He differs *toto cælo* from the up-country man or the Sikh, as well as from the inhabitants of Southern India, who at the present day take the lead in originality and weight of thought. One might as readily confound Italy with England, or Spain with Germany, as Bengal with the other provinces of India.

Dr. Miller's defence of the Education Commission of 1882-83, in which he took an active part, is intimately connected with the policy which, in his opinion, should be followed for the future. That Commission recommended the extension of the grant-in-aid system, and the limitation of State institutions, as far as possible, to those then in existence. The pendulum has swung the other way since

then, and Mr. Chirol is all for State institutions. He says that the system hitherto pursued amounted to the abandonment of all systems except that of payment by results—a plan already discredited in England. Dr. Miller replies that the Commission never suggested that the Government should abandon the control of education; on the contrary, it emphasized the necessity for it. And if the Government of Bengal allowed the schools and colleges to pass beyond their control, this was due to maladministration. We are thus led directly to the main difference between the two writers. Dr. Miller and Mr. Chirol both agree that the formation of character is the chief end of education; they further agree that for this end religious teaching is the most effective instrument. Mr. Chirol is affrighted by the evils which have arisen in Bengal; he is therefore all for State colleges and State control. And since religious teaching is an integral part of education, he considers that the Government is bound to provide it. Dr. Miller contends that such teaching is impossible in itself, and that the work of education must be done in the future, as it has been done in the past, chiefly by private institutions aided by Government. He pleads that fuller effect should be given to this system, established in 1854, and reaffirmed by Government in 1884—a system which, he says, has never had a fair trial. And he emphasizes the recommendation of the Educational Commission of 1882-83, that the improvement and extension of schools and colleges under private management should be the principal care of the Educational Department.

We have here, transferred to India, much the same conflict which now exists in England between Church schools and County Council schools. In England the fight is over elementary education; the secondary schools and colleges are for the most part in the hands of private individuals or governors, who go their own way. In India all primary schools, with few exceptions, belong to Government, or to municipalities and other public bodies. The

grant-in-aid system is worked chiefly for the benefit of the secondary schools and colleges. These institutions are at liberty to teach whatever subjects they please outside the University curriculum ; but if we except missionary institutions and schools lately founded, like those of the Arya Samaj, in imitation of them, religion finds no place in the course of studies. Many of these aided colleges and schools, especially in Bengal, are run merely with a view to pecuniary profit. They attract by the lowness of their fees ; and, ill-equipped, they give only the minimum of education which by dint of cram will enable the student to pass the University tests. Every attempt to raise the standard of education affects their pecuniary interests and raises an outcry. They are the natural fruit of the view, so long held in England, that education consists in imparting a certain *quantum* of knowledge easy to be tested. That view is no longer popular in England. Even the London University has altered its ideals ; and many high-minded natives in India begin to hold more enlightened opinions, while others discover in education the most potent means of propagandizing their favourite theories. To abandon the grant-in-aid system, or to substitute everywhere Government institutions for aided ones, is impossible, even if it were desirable. To get rid of institutions which are objectionable, and at the same time wisely to encourage private effort—that is the difficulty.

Private institutions can give any religious instruction they please, and already some of them, like the Arya Samaj schools, give religious instruction which may be politically dangerous. Moreover, it is quite as easy to teach history in a seditious spirit as in an orthodox way. Whether it is possible to give religious teaching in any form in Government colleges and schools, as Mr. Chirol and many others think, is a much-vexed question which cannot be entered on here. Suffice it to say that many forms of Hinduism are grossly immoral, and therefore out of court ; nor does it seem easy to teach a religion which

has no creed. It would be easier to form a textbook which would please equally Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Dissenters, and Jews. The native State of Mysore has introduced religious teaching in the schools, but in a native State the maxim prevails, *cujus regio ejus religio*. Extracts from the epics might be read; but most Hindus, whether literate or not, are already acquainted with them, and the probable result would be an exaltation of that imaginary golden age which is already the *ignis fatuus* of the young politician. At the same time, in the hands of a competent teacher the study of the epics might be very useful.

With the Mahomedans the case is entirely different. Islam has a very definite creed, and every young Mahomedan is as much bound to learn it as a youthful Scot the Shorter Catechism. But here arises the prior question whether the teaching of a creed, apart from practice, has any moral value. The formation of character is a moral process. Religion may have much to do with it, and to stock the memory with verses from the Psalter, the Koran, or the *Bhagavat Gita* is undoubtedly useful. But can we go farther? The teaching of a creed may have a certain intellectual value, especially if its outlines are rigid and sharp, and lend themselves to dialectic; but I confess that, apart from practice, I find little moral value in it. The idea that the ills of education in India can be cured by religious teaching seems to me chimerical. The formation of character is the end desired, and for that purpose you require the personality of a teacher. The A.M.O. College at Aligarh is the most celebrated of all the aided institutions in India outside the missionary colleges. But the fundamental idea with which Sir Syad Ahmed started it was not the teaching of Islam, but the association of Englishmen with native students. Sir Syad Ahmed was himself somewhat of a heretic in the eyes of his countrymen, and it was not he, but the late Principal, Mr. Beck, who obliged the students to attend the services of the mosque. Another Principal, Sir T. Morison, has

said that he laid little stress on the religious teaching which the college gives. Much the same thing, I think, might be said of missionary colleges. Religious teaching usually glides off the mind of the pupil with little effect, but the influence of the teacher remains. The supply of competent teachers lies at the root of all other difficulties. We require men who will devote their lives to forming their pupils', by imparting to them something of their spirit. No change of system will make up for this deficiency, and it is easier to find such men among native religious sectaries and fanatical politicians than in the ranks of the Government Service.

Apart from the points in dispute, the most interesting part of Dr. Miller's pamphlet is that in which he gives the history of the relations between the Government and the aided colleges in Madras. The latter have been treated alternately as rivals and as allies. It is natural that the Director of Education should make the efficiency of the Government colleges his special care, and it is not to be denied that many of the aided institutions are poor and inefficient; but this is precisely the case where a wise Governor will intervene to prevent jealousies and departmental rivalry.

THE ARCHITECT IN INDIA.*

BY J. BEGG, F.R.I.B.A.,

Consulting-Architect to the Government of India.

IN response to Dr. Pollen's invitation, I confess to having had a strong temptation to attempt an address on the Architecture of India from the more purely archæological point of view. Though I have no wish to associate myself with those who are accustomed habitually to laud the ancients at the expense of the moderns, yet I cannot help admitting that, so far as India at least is concerned, it is decidedly the ancients who "have it" in the matter of architecture. I cannot help feeling that a very much more fascinating paper could have been prepared for you on the old work of the country than on the new. It would seem like a flagrant neglect of opportunity were I to omit to consider those glorious examples of the work of the past which make India unique among the countries of the world in the possession of architectural gems of the highest possible order of merit. Clearly one should speak of the rock-cut work of Ellora, Tanjore, Elephanta, and Karli; of the Taj Mahal at Agra, of Fathpur Sikri, of Delhi, of Ahmedabad, and above all, of that fascinating field of study where are to be seen the grandest and most masculine examples of Mohammedan building in India, the all but deserted city of Bijapur in the Deccan. But I have no alternative other than to commit this very solecism. I have no right to

* For discussion on this paper see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

dwelt on those glories of the past for the reason that, archæology having (for certain sufficient administrative reasons) been divorced from her consort architecture, I have had no more than ordinary opportunities for studying it. In fact I have had less than ordinary, for (so close has my nose been kept to the particular grindstone allotted to me) during my ten years of service in India I have never been able to spare time for travelling beyond the range of my actual duties. Bijapur, Ahmedabad, and Delhi are the only great archæological centres to which my work has called me; while Agra, Fathpur Sikri, Ellora, and the rest I have, so far, not visited.

I must, therefore, confine myself to a consideration of architecture in India from the point of view of the present-day architect. In the problems which he finds to tackle in the country, as he drives across comparatively unbroken ground his rather lonely furrow, I think I shall be able to show you sufficient to justify my claiming your interest and attention. I shall further limit my subject by concerning myself mainly with the work of the official architect—or, shall I say, with the building work of the Indian Public Works Department. I need not, however, tell those of you who are familiar with Indian conditions that the latter limitation is not by any means so formidable as it would be in most countries, or is such as to prevent our obtaining an adequate view of modern Indian architecture. Official design and building work still bears, and must bear for yet a long time, a ratio to the aggregate of work in the country in enormous excess of what it does, say, in England. This is so not only by virtue of its actual bulk, but because it leads the way, and will, I hope, continue to do so till a respectable tradition has grown up sufficiently to render our leadership no longer a necessity. That won't be, I fear, in our day, nor yet in the day of the next generation of our fellow-workers, nor, perhaps, of the next again. It won't be till India has so advanced that we are able to relinquish our leadership in other professions too—in law, in medicine,

in engineering—and pretty much in the order in which I have named them, architecture coming last of all. I wish, you see, to start fair by avoiding giving the impression that I am over sanguine. India is a country of slow movement. In certain directions very slow.

The design and construction of the buildings of modern India is, then, for the most part, in the hands of the Indian Public Works Department—a service officered by men specially selected and specially trained—or till lately specially trained—for their work. When I say “specially trained,” however, I do not mean to imply that they have been trained as specialists. Quite the contrary. Their work has certainly ranged over a wide field, a field embracing many kinds of specialism, such as railway work, irrigation, architect's work, etc.; but the men themselves have not been largely encouraged to specialize, but rather to acquire a general training in the practical and theoretical considerations bearing on the varied work they are called on to take charge of. Though they enjoy the generic title of “engineer,” it does not follow that that title is the best or most accurately descriptive one for them, or that it would convey other than a vague idea of what they really are to anyone unacquainted with Indian conditions. While some of them have been drawn from the Royal Engineers, some from the ranks of the civil engineering profession, and some few, like “Topsy,” have “just growed,” the majority owe their training to the special colleges, principally to the late Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill. But for the typical Public Works Officer the term “engineer” afforded quite an arbitrary and by no means accurate definition. He was not—he is not—an engineer quite as the term is understood in England or in Europe generally, and he has merely been called so because his most direct professional progenitor was perhaps the Royal Engineer. He might have been called “master of works,” or he might have been called “architect,” and it is certainly probable that, had it been expedient to

recruit him from the ranks of any one existing orthodox profession in Britain, the particular blend of engineer, architect, administrator, and honourable gentleman necessary for the conditions of his life and work would have been more readily found among the members of the profession of the British architect than of any other ready to hand. I say this because it is the architect who is really the all-round man, while the engineer is the specialist—the man who has specialized on what is essentially and *ab origine* a branch of architecture, namely, *construction*. Also because the architect's training teaches him to go by something beyond mere figures and formularies. It involves the cultivation of what might be called a *sense*, and is, therefore, calculated to make him adaptable and to aid him particularly in new and strange conditions.

Times have changed and work conditions have progressed in India. Railway work has long been definitely recognized as requiring specialists. Irrigation may be said to have followed suit. Electricity has invaded the country, and has brought the electrical specialist in its train. The generally-trained "engineer" is still, as he must needs be, in a numerical majority, and is concerned with the vast mass of work involved by repairs, maintenance and other petty works, by road making, bridge building, and general works administration, but with little of original or creative work to do which is not building work, and, as such, directly within the sphere and competence of the architect. When I remind you that Cooper's Hill College is no more, and that all its splendid machinery for the training of the Indian Public Works officer has been scattered to the four winds (a measure, however, at which I do not wish to cavil), and when I further remind you that, retaining the arbitrarily acquired name of "engineer," recruits to the Public Works Department are being poured into the country from among the younger members of the civil engineering profession in Britain, to the all but total neglect of the architect's profession, you will understand that a situation has arisen

which can hardly be regarded by the architect with a large amount of equanimity.

There is a temptation to exaggerate the gravity of the situation, and it would be easy for the architect to do so. But I want to be quite fair in my statement of the case. I do not want to pretend that the architecture of the Public Works Department has been contemptible. It has not been so. Many of the more important buildings of India, if not looked at too closely in detail, though, of course, in a sense amateur work, are distinctly above the average of amateur work. I would instance the High Court and Public Works Secretariat of Bombay. I might also mention the Victoria Terminus of the same city, though the latter is hardly an example of official designing, for Stevens, its author, had abandoned Government service before he did it, and, besides, being a genius, is not a man to be judged by ordinary standards. On the whole, India may well challenge any country in the world to show an equal number of amateur buildings more or less free from glaring architectural solecisms, more nearly approaching the standards of the professional designer. It is not to be wondered at. Necessity is the mother of invention. In the almost entire absence of architects, India invented for herself some very fair substitutes—just as Simla, in her dire need of professional actors, has produced some by no means contemptible acting on the part of her amateurs. In architecture a certain selective process as to men has certainly been at work in India, and it would be hard indeed if clever men—and there have been clever men—with their backs to the wall, and working on first principles with plenty of practice and a considerable amount of funds at their disposal, with ideal building sites and good materials, should not have contrived to give themselves some sort of a training, and stumbled on some of the genuine secrets of design. So much for the past. Nor must we be too pessimistic as to the present and the future. In 1902 the Secretary of State, moved by the

then Viceroy (Lord Curzon) created the post of "Consulting - Architect to the Government of India," and appointed as its first incumbent a trained architect in the person of Mr. James Ransome. That was a great step, and the idea prompting it was a great idea for architecture. But it was not a new idea entirely, for the Government of Bombay had at that time an architect in their employ in the person of myself. When I first went to India at the beginning of 1901, I was, I believe, the only architect-trained architect in Government employ in India. There are now seven of us, and soon there may be eight. The time can, I think, hardly be long delayed before every province and administration of any importance in India has its architect with his properly equipped staff. But even then it will be no more than a step which has been taken in the right direction. This handful of men can do no more than touch the fringe of the vast mantle of bricks and mortar which the continent of India requires continually to be weaving to veil her growing sense of nakedness. At best they can do no more than design a comparatively small number of the more important buildings which every year must rise up in response to the increasing needs of the country. And these they can merely "design," as it is called, leaving the equally, if not more important, branch of the architect's work—the building—still in the hands of the amateur. "Design," as it is called, I say, for no man can design properly who is not in constant practice at actual building work. Similarly, no one can properly build who is not an expert designer. However skilled an engineer he may be, he must still be to some extent, as I have styled him, an amateur. That is why I say that the situation cannot be viewed by the architect with equanimity. Seven new architects in ten years is not enough.

The best, therefore, that can be said of the architectural work of India is that it is in the hands of an agency made up for the most part of intelligent (and certainly zealous) amateurs, with a small leaven of professionals. These

latter are necessarily in comparatively subordinate positions—that is, they are merely in advisory positions. They may advise, but it by no means follows that their advice is acted on. In a great many instances it is not acted on fully and unreservedly. The fact is that, with the best intentions on the part of those in authority, it is too often impossible to give effect to the architect's advice, for the reason that the machinery, so to speak, for carrying out his advice is of the nature to which I have applied the term "amateur"—that is, amateur from the strict point of view of the professional architect. A surgeon may advise that a certain operation should be performed in a certain way, but unless he performs it himself, or can rely on its being done by another competent surgeon, his advice can certainly not be followed. This illustration, it is true, is robbed of some of its poignancy by the fact that, thank Heaven! we have practically got rid of amateur surgeons, whereas the world is largely peopled by amateur architects. And we do not want to get rid of the amateur architect. He is, in some respects, the best friend of the professional, to whom he affords real help and stimulus; and it is from among the number of these amateurs that the architect finds his most genuine admirers and effective supporters. He is not to be got rid of; merely to be led and restrained. But, I ask you, how can the seven newly-imported architects of India hope to lead or restrain the hundred thousand more or less who fill the stage? Let me rather take the illustration that is suggested by the last word, "the stage." The professional actor may advise, he can even show how a passage should be rendered. But can he hope that his amateur pupils, however well intentioned, however intelligent, however humbly desirous to learn, will be able to follow his advice? Now, the amateur architects of India, be they operatives or engineers or administrators, though well intentioned and by no means unintelligent, are seldom humble! Their life, their training, their traditions, their seniority, and the amount of their pay, compared to that of

the architect's, none of these things make for humility or docility in this connection. Indeed, as things are in India, *humility* is hardly a quality to render a man an effective servant of the Empire!

May I now allude to some of the difficulties which this new breed of architects have to face in India? Chief amongst these is, perhaps, the prevailing misconception as to what an architect is and does. It may astonish architects to hear that, when I first went to India ten years ago, I found it to be universally held that the architect had nothing to do with the *erection* of buildings. The man who saw to that was the engineer! Materials, strains and stresses, thickness of walls, strength of piers, beams, girders, and trusses, contracts and work arrangements of all kinds, together with the prices that should be paid for labour and materials—these were all beyond the architect's province. Further, matters such as the number, size and arrangement of rooms, their lighting, whether by windows or artificially, their ventilation, etc.—in fact, the planning and entire conception of the building, here the engineer was held to be the proper authority, and for none of these things was it considered fitting that the help of an architect should be obtained. People would not believe me when I told them that all such things were the commonplaces of the architect's daily work in England, and, in fact, everywhere else but in India. Even such things as decoration and the colour of the paint to be used, whether internally or externally, were supposed to be quite beyond the province of the architect. The engineer was apparently the man to settle all that, and he frequently left it to his subordinate, who left it to the painter, who, in turn, might save the situation by consulting the wishes of the prospective occupant of the building! Such a state of topsy-turvydom had to be experienced to be believed.

What then, it may well be asked, was the architect supposed to do? Upon my word, I do not know. I believe that a few of the more enlightened considered he

was concerned with the exterior appearance of the building—the appearance, that is, so far as the mere form of decorative details went—for colour, whether applied as paint or by the choice of materials, was certainly denied as being within his competence. I was thought to be seeking unduly to magnify the importance of my functions when I either sought to do otherwise than confine myself to the narrow limits of exterior appearance or represented the architects of other countries as doing otherwise in the ordinary course of their duties. I think that, had we taken our official superiors at their word from the first—had we not, in spite of frequent discouragement, followed our own line to some extent—the office of Government Architect would have been a sinecure indeed.

The architect in private practice in India has an easy way of meeting this ludicrous misconception of his functions. He simply inscribes his brass plate with the words "Architect and Engineer." But the official architect has no voice in the choice of his designation, and must accept that, with his work, as each comes from his official superiors. And there has been no lack of work for us. I suppose they must have found us useful. I can point to one curious instance of some years ago. A Government architect was ordered to prepare the detailed designs for a large and important bridge, involving alternative treatments in stone, steel, and reinforced concrete, though it was admitted that this, at least, was certainly not within the officially recognized category of his duties. All the while the engineer to whom the duty would naturally have fallen was engaged on the design of a big block of residential flats. The architect did suggest that perhaps an exchange of work might be effected, but this was met with the coldness such presumption deserved. Yes, they must have found us useful—more useful, I think, beyond our acknowledged province than within it. I am glad to say that much of the misconception has been lived down. Before I left Bombay in 1906 to take up my present appointment with

the Government of India, the Government of Bombay had sanctioned the establishment, in my office, of an executive branch and the entrusting to me of the construction of all more important buildings designed in the office. Generally speaking, the architect is becoming more and more freely admitted to the councils of the Public Works Hierarchy on an increasing number of matters connected with his calling.

Then there are the difficulties an architect finds in getting his details, specifications, and other instructions understood on the works. Neither the workman nor the Public Works subordinate has been sufficiently trained in what is known as the "reading" of drawings, and the engineer is not able to afford the time to explain things.

But a more formidable trouble is the absence of any reliable source for the supply of capable assistants. In Europe, especially in the towns, there is no lack of these, and they can be got to work for surprisingly low wages—even for love—for the sake of experience. The Indian Public Works Department is able, by virtue of its long establishment and the considerable figure it makes in the public eye, as well as from the fact of the existence of several engineering colleges, to obtain an adequate supply of subordinates sufficiently trained for its ordinary requirements. But the architect's requirements are of a very different nature. The ordinary Public Works subordinate is of little or no use to him. Moreover, he requires the assistance of men of a different class than can be made to pass muster under the more perfunctory and routine character of the ordinary Public Works Department work. It therefore follows that the architect, when he goes to India, has very considerably to modify his methods if he is to get through his day's work at all; and it also follows, alas! that he cannot turn out his work with the same amount of completeness and thoughtful care as at home. This circumstance militates grievously against his success, for so much less skilled are all through whom his ideas and instructions

have to be transmitted to the workmen—his own immediate staff, as well as the overseeing machinery of the “executive engineer”—and so much less skilled are the workmen themselves as compared to those he has become accustomed to at home, that to obtain equal results he ought to employ superior rather than inferior methods, to give fuller rather than more scanty instructions and details.

Towards the diminution of this difficulty various schemes are under consideration. There is the proposed establishment of a thorough system of pupilage in the existing architect's offices. There is the suggested sending home of approved architectural pupils to complete their studies in Europe. The Bombay School of Art is doing good work with training classes for architects' assistants, and other schools in the country may perhaps be induced to follow. But all the schemes bristle with difficulties, the chief of which arises from the fact that the better class of Indian youth does not often seek to follow architecture as a profession, either because his order of mind is not “built that way” or because his attention has not yet been sufficiently turned to the profession. Your young educated Indian of good class seeks to become a lawyer or a doctor, or a few aim at being engineers, though I must say they have hardly yet shown that, as a race, they possess outstanding aptitude for the latter calling. But the few who have essayed to become architects have not hitherto been generally of a class or of an education to fit them to take the necessary training, and the native architect has hardly yet arisen who could satisfy the most moderate professional requirements. Meantime the country is overrun by clerks—clever, highly educated, and only too glad to work for exceedingly low wages. If but a small proportion of them had thought of becoming architects, and if the means had existed for training them at the proper stage in their educational careers, the architectural profession in the country, both private and in Government service, would be in a more hopeful position to-day. This is a state of things which

every well-wisher of India should be glad to see altered, if for no other reason than to provide one more little outlet, among the too few that exist, for the energies of a growing class of young educated Indians—growing in numbers as in discontent with the faint promise of careers that the future seems to hold out for them.

It would be a great thing for India if she could be put in the way of having a strong, living architectural profession of her own, and of being more or less self-contained in the matter of providing its personnel. Her arts are dead or nearly so, and her crafts are little better. The Indian workman has become a complete master of one art only—that of scamping—and it is a rare thing to find one who takes a real pleasure in his work for its own sake, or for any other sake than that of the expected pecuniary reward. The taint of commercialism, at its crudest, poisons his whole outlook, without, as yet, the virtue that should accompany it—commercial honour. It is architecture which is the great mother of all the arts and crafts, and it is the architect alone who, as the lineal descendant of Tubal Cain, can, I believe, inspire the craftsman with that pride in his work which is the sure antidote to a too exclusively commercial outlook. I know from more than one happy experience that the Indian workman can be so inspired; and I believe that if there were only more of us, and if we were of the right sort—the sort to bring with us enthusiasm for our work—then the crowds of Chinese carpenters and smiths, for instance, who have obtained a practical monopoly of their respective trades in Calcutta and elsewhere, would soon have to pack and go.

And think of the civilizing effect which it would have on the country if we could only get the crafts set on a proper footing. The very foundation of a modern nation's progress in civilization is surely work—sound, honest, joyful work. I cannot see that that foundation has yet been laid in India, or that such of it as was laid by the Moguls centuries ago is being used sufficiently to support the

structure we are labouring to rear. Looked at from this point of view, it seems to me that in the progress of the architectural profession in India we might have a big thing, and in the architect's mission a big mission.

But some may say that India is not a modern nation—rather a collection of tired remnants, the refugees, one might say, of many old ones. Quite so. But what have we been doing for the past 100 years if not trying to make it conform to the ways of modern nations—to make it, in fact, a modern nation? And I think we are not only beginning to succeed, but are beginning to recognize our success. At any rate, I take it as a sign of the latter that British public opinion is at last venturing to question the eternal wisdom of the saying as to East and West that “never the twain shall meet.” When so stubborn a thing as British public opinion shows a sign like that of adapting itself to the times, surely there is hope for even the slow and stubborn East. Just as the India of the past can show some of the world's greatest architectural achievements, so we may rest assured that in the present and future she has the main essentials for holding her own with other nations in this respect. She has a wealth of fine building materials in her various grades of basalts, freestones, marbles, and granites; slate, tiles, bricks, and lime. She has a certain amount of indigenous timber, and a ready access to the teaks of Burmah and the gums and other timbers of Australia. Then her climate conditions and ways of life demand large and lofty rooms, and that all goes to make for a broad, big, and masculine type of building design, in which dignity and grandeur of manner are encouraged by the formality and ceremoniousness that are associated with her traditions in the conduct of government and public affairs generally. Moreover, in the larger aspect of architecture—that concerned with the planning of towns and cities—there is endless opportunity, nay, even crying need, for the architect's best efforts. That is a lesson which has been learned within the last ten or twelve

years during the operations of the Bombay Improvement Trust. Calcutta is now starting an Improvement Trust of her own. May we hope that that city will be so wise as to profit by Bombay's experience in this respect?

Meantime, ladies and gentlemen, in judging of the architecture of the present day there is just this to be borne in mind. It is neither so admirable a thing as certain amateur enthusiasts are wont to represent it, nor is it so contemptible a thing as it is apt to appear to the severely professional critic, accustomed to see the work of our best men at home. I would in particular emphasize the latter aspect of the case in so far as our work is seen from this side of the water. I would ask you to bear in mind the enormous disabilities under which, as I have pointed out, the work of the architect in India is carried on, and would plead for a correspondingly sympathetic and lenient judgment of results. If you think me unwise in giving this apology too much the form of the excuse that accuses, I would ask you to bear with me in this also. The architect is of necessity somewhat of an irritable creature, and these remarks are written after ten long years without a break of continuous anxious work, contending with the difficulties I have just been indicating. Under these circumstances, some degree of pessimism is hardly to be wondered at in contemplating one's efforts. But, at the same time, I do pretend to a very real optimism with regard to the future, from the point of view which also I have tried to indicate to you. While disclaiming the desire to pose as prophet, I think I may at least ask those of you who are interested in architecture generally, and in Indian architecture in particular, to keep a sympathetic eye on the work of the Public Works Department, and to declare my confidence that the progress you see will not disappoint you. Do not look for any startlingly individual development of a "style," as the term is popularly understood, for the individual character of a real living style can never be judged by the generation that produces it. But look for buildings designed alike with honesty,

with thought, and with common-sense, as with the quality of "style" in the bigger sense—that quality which is hardly definable, and which is best conveyed to my mind by the expression of a Scotch architect friend—"the real crack of the whup!" Look for those buildings showing the qualities of sound, honest workmanship, and inquire whether there are still in Calcutta as many Chinese carpenters as ever.

INDIA REVISITED AFTER TWENTY-FOUR YEARS :

THE RAMBLING REFLECTIONS OF AN OLD
DISTRICT OFFICER.

THE problem of India is much too gigantic for a series of articles such as Mr. Chirol's, or even for volumes such as those of Sir Bampfylde Fuller or Sir J. D. Rees. One can only hope to call attention to a few of the factors, as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has done in his very praiseworthy attempt to give the people of England some idea of the "Truth about India." . . .

Here are some of the difficulties that beset us in administering the affairs of such a vast country: How to make the best possible use of the educated Indian; and, first of all, how to give him a more practical education than he is said to be getting now. Of equal importance, and perhaps an even more difficult question, is how to employ to better advantage the chivalry of India. In our prosaic attention to the details of office work, and even the industrial development of the country, which is so all-important, we are apt to lose sight of the splendid fighting material we still possess in India. When we think of Sir Pertab Singh's horror at the idea of dying in his bed, we begin to realize what a calamitous mistake it is to leave such men to rust away in sloth and apathy for want of congenial employment.

Mr. Chirol, in one of his interesting articles, insisted very

strongly (and very properly) on the importance of the District official being in close touch with the Local Government. It is even more important, I think, that they should be in constant touch with the people of their Districts, and our system interferes at every turn with their freedom in this respect. I would almost venture to say that the District Officer should incline to defend the people even against the Government, when there is any sign of encroachment by the central authorities on their customary privileges. The real danger in India is lest the District Officer should be terrorized by the despotism of his too-numerous controlling authorities and cease to be, what he generally used to be, the protector of the ryot. His proper rôle is what was once so graphically described as a "jaunty despotism," with abundance of good-humour and plenty of time to listen to all complaints; but he must have power to redress them. A sort of despot he must always be (as far as the law allows), but he should never fail to be "jaunty" in his despotism. After all, the real despot in India is the Law, which no one, not even the Governor-General in Council, can ignore with safety.

Another point on which opinion is much divided is the desirability of English as a medium of education for the upper classes. There can be no question as yet about making English a universal language for the masses; but many people seem to fancy that the mere learning of English and the reading of English books are harmful in themselves, and perhaps even mainly responsible for what is called "sedition." Even if it were so, it would be quite impossible to go back now, and it is useless even to discuss such a suggestion. But in fact, I believe—and I have had the advantage of discussing the point with one of the most enlightened rulers of Native India—the mere study of English is a moral education in itself, and has done much to modify the old, out-of-date notions of our Indian fellow-subjects, and bring them abreast of modern progress in a way that no possible education in the vernacular

could have done. Every intelligent Indian instinctively recognizes this fact, and, whether we like it or not, will insist on the best English education he can get for his sons first, and, ultimately, we may hope, for his daughters.

If, then, it is admitted that the teaching of English is desirable, or even indispensable, to the educated Indian, what are we to say about compulsory education of the masses? That, it seems to me, is quite another thing, for which, in my judgment, the country is not yet ripe. That every child should have an opportunity of learning the three R's is one thing, and I would encourage "Swadéshi" education on the plan of the old Free Grammar Schools in England by every possible means; but to say that the Government should enforce universal education is, I think, quite premature in India, whatever one may think of it in England. Let the educated, and especially the priestly classes, show their concern for the masses by educating the lower orders, as the Buddhists do, and the Government will only be too willing to assist them as they assist the missionaries. For the Government to introduce compulsory education at this stage, or for many years to come, would be a gigantic mistake, which would cause more "unrest" than ever, whereas no one could object to free schools, for which the temple revenues would probably provide ample means to begin with.

SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

Bombay, the Beautiful, as I remember it, is dead—smothered in the smoke of many factories, but it is more wonderful than ever, with its tramways, its motor-cars and its Táj Mahal Hotel; and, when it learns to get rid of its dreadful pall of smoke, it may rise like a phoenix from its ashes, as beautiful as of yore. There can be no greater proof of the development of India than the offices of Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son and the very excellent hotels to be found now all over Northern India; but even the much-

maligned Government has advanced also, as appears more especially in a really scientific Agricultural Department, which may double the produce of India in time, if only it is allowed to become a permanent institution and is not strangled in its birth by a red-tape-ridden secretariat. Unfortunately there is only too much reason to fear that the Government of India is repeating the mistake it has made so often in leaving men single-handed in their solitary Districts and not providing them with at least one European assistant so as to insure continuity, and then continually calling for reports on all sorts of subjects to the detriment of the real work of the farm. Superior officers at headquarters have yet to learn how necessary it is to let executive officers alone, and to satisfy themselves by occasional personal inspection that the work is going on well, instead of sitting in their offices and sending for elaborate reports which exhaust the energies of the man on the spot, and do no good to anybody. Personal supervision of a man's work and personal discussion with him is encouraging and does him good: compelling him to write everlasting reports on what he is doing is simply wasting his time and exasperates him beyond endurance. It is an irredeemably bad system, and no good agricultural work will ever be done until it is reduced to a minimum.

Taking India as a whole, however, the most surprising change that has been effected, since I joined the service in 1862, is in the means of communication, both externally with Europe and internally by roads and railways. Few people in England realize that in the Punjab alone there are nearly 5,000 miles of railway, practically the whole of which have been constructed in the past fifty years, or that 6,000,000 acres of land have already been brought under canal irrigation in that Province alone. In 1862 we were ferried across the Mediterranean in a miserable little cockle-shell of a paddle steamer called the *Vectis*, which was overcrowded with eighty passengers, and I find in an old diary of the voyage that the original old *Nubia* (of

2,000 tons), which took us on from Suez, is described as a "very big vessel with a vast number of first-class passengers—not far short of 200;" so crowded in fact that all the officers' berths were appropriated, and in my cabin, I remember, we had five, with *one* basin, and yet it is described as "infinitely more comfortable than the *Vectis*." Moreover this "splendid vessel" had only two baths for 200 passengers, and was considered to be "travelling wonderfully" when she accomplished thirteen knots an hour. I remember, too, even yet how difficult it was to get enough to eat at dinner; but in those days the P. and O. had a monopoly. *Per contra*, the *Egypt* in which I went out to Bombay is a fair-sized ship of nearly 8,000 tons, and carries 500 passengers very comfortably, no cabin having more than three berths. Lastly, it cost me a great deal less to go from London to Bombay and from Colombo to Singapore and back to London in a "floating palace," than the single voyage to Madras cost in that wretched old tub the *Vectis*, and the not much more comfortable *Nubia*. We certainly get a good deal more for our money nowadays. Such is the effect of competition; and yet, I believe, the P. and O. still pays 9 per cent.

In the meantime the country has been covered with a network of roads of sorts, so that whereas, when I went to Tinnevely in 1866 there was literally no made road except for a few miles in and about the towns, there is probably not a village now that is not within a few miles of a road metalled and bridged throughout and provided with some sort of branch road fairly passable in all weathers, though not metalled or bridged.

These, it will be said, are the mere externals of progress obvious to all; but they are apt to be overlooked and are persistently ignored by our modern critics, who prefer to repeat Sir William Hunter's rather sensational statement that "40,000,000 of the people never have enough to eat," a statement which is probably not even true in an ordinary year, though it may be a fact that they never have as much

as they *could* eat; and even that is more than could truthfully be said of the millions of mendicants who prey upon the rest of the people, and is perfectly true of about the same proportion of the people of nearly every country in Europe. The same misleading statement was repeated by one of these perfervid orators from Bengal at the meeting of the National Congress the other day, and was received with the usual shouts of "shame." Shame, I suppose, to the first Government in India that has made it the paramount duty of every official to prevent death by starvation; just as a London audience cried "shame" on the same Government when Mr. Keir Hardie so shamefully and absurdly accused it of "exacting 75 per cent. of the gross produce from the miserable peasant over a great part of India." I do not propose to discuss the doings of the National Congress at Allahabad, though I was present the first two days, but I should like to make a few remarks on a statement made by Mr. Surendranáth Banerjea on Sir William Wedderburn's career as an official, to the effect that he "preferred the interests of the people to those of his own class"—*i.e.*, the Civil Service. If that means that he thought first of his duty to the country and secondarily of his own private interests, I hope it is true of the great majority of the Civil Service. But, in fact, the interests of the two are identical—a contented Civil Service and a contented people should go together. Whatever the form of Government may be, the actual work must be done by the permanent officials, who, in England, at any rate, are unaffected by changes of Government and elections.

In India the Civil Service stands for that certainty of administration which is essential, and I will go further and say that there is no Government in the world more consistently "socialistic," in the sense of being unselfishly devoted to the greatest good of the greatest number. That is not to pretend that it is perfect or "heaven-born": such foolish exaggeration is to be deprecated on both sides.

Let the organ of the Congress, *India*, be more ready to publish both sides, and we shall all welcome it as a powerful agent in promoting that more friendly feeling between the official and non-official classes which Sir William Wedderburn so wisely advocates, and which, there is some reason to hope, is actually being created under this new régime.

THE MYSTERY OF ZIMBABWE.

BY FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

SCATTERED about over the gold-mining area of our South African colony of Rhodesia are numerous groups of ancient ruins which have caused considerable discussion amongst travellers and archæologists as to their origin. The natives know nothing of them, or only that they are ancient and were built by the Devil, and we have no historical accounts to state by whom or when they were erected. These ruins cover a large and well-defined area, extending some 700 miles in one direction by 600 in another, and are evidently connected with the ancient mining operations carried on in that part of the world. These mines were worked to an enormous extent long ages before they were brought to notice some three or four decades ago. How far back into the mists of antiquity have these gold-workings been carried on? How and by whom were they commenced? And who were the builders of these cyclopean ruins which still remain the only stone buildings south of the great African lakes which have come down to us?

Chief among these ruins is that known as the elliptical temple of Zimbabwe, or Great Zimbabwe, in the region of Victoria; but there are over 500 groups of ancient ruins of temples and forts scattered about the district, several of them covering larger areas than that at Zimbabwe. These buildings evidence not only great industry on the part of

their builders, but also a long occupation of the country, for they show different styles in the mode of building, easily discernible, some being built with great regularity of carefully cut and dressed stones, others of a more decadent character and rough construction.

The ancient workings of the gold-mines also indicate a large population, and must have extended over a long space of time. More than half of the registered gold claims in Rhodesia are pegged on the lines of ancient workings. Nowhere else in the world are there such extensive pre-historic gold-mines sunk to depth in rock to be found. These were not mere scratchings of the surface and washing of alluvial gold, but were sunk to depths of from 70 to 150 feet, till difficulties of water prevented any further sinking. Though the early miners possessed only the crudest mining appliances, it has been estimated by expert mining engineers that they must have mined from a depth from 100 to 300 million tons of reef, much of which was rock of a refractory nature; and that the gold extracted amounted to fully £75,000,000 in value. Yet have they left no record in the country of their work or of themselves.

Though it is hardly forty years since this gold-bearing region was opened up to us by the German traveller Carl Mauch, it was centuries ago known to the Portuguese, who came to South-East Africa about 1505, and occupied various points on the coast of Sofala. They, however, knew the mines and buildings only by repute; they never themselves ventured very far inland, and were indebted for what knowledge they obtained to the "Moors," or Arabs, who had been in possession of the coast long before them. Arabs from the Persian Gulf had founded Magadosho and Brava farther to the north on the same East African coast about A.D. 930, and during the eleventh century they had spread to Sofala. From the Arabs, then, the Portuguese learned of the ancient gold-mines and ancient ruins. Diego de Conto, one of their early writers, in referring to the mines

of Masapa, in Manicaland, states that they were so old that they were the mines "whence the Queen of Sheba obtained the greater part of the gold she offered for the temple of Solomon." João dos Santos, another Portuguese historian, relates an Arab tradition that the gold of the Queen of Sheba came from these mines, the antiquity of which he himself also ascribed to Solomonian times. If this tradition could be substantiated, what an interesting field of research it must open up! Was it only a legend? or was it founded in fact? Was it Ophir, whence the gold of Solomon's temple was obtained? The early Portuguese thought that the celebrated Ophir was situated here, and they found a mountain still called Fura, a word which seemed to bear a reminiscence of the name Ophir.

The late J. Theodore Bent, a qualified archaeologist, who visited and examined the ruins of Zimbabwe in 1891, lent support to the authenticity of the claim. He and his companion, Mr. R. M. Swan, came to the conclusion from the orientation of the temple that the buildings were erected as far back as 1100 B.C., while several buildings were believed to be of far anterior date, the orientation of at least two ruins taking them back to 2000 B.C. But measurements of the conical tower at Zimbabwe, by Mr. R. N. Hall in 1902, showed that Mr. Swan's theory of the orientation of the temple could not be substantiated.

Another curious theory as to the origin of these buildings was raised by a South African writer, Mr. J. F. Van Oordt, in his book, "Who were the Builders of Great Zimbabwe?" He considers them to have been Dravidians, or a mixed race of Dravidians and Tibetans, from the Indus Valley. In the Tibetan language, it seems, *Dsamba*, a word having some similarity to Zimbabwe, means "gold." But it would require much more than this to prove that the Tibetans had anything to do with the buildings in South Africa, or that that exclusive inland race ever manifested any maritime qualities.

There were some, however, who thought that the en-

deavour to carry back the origin of these buildings to something like a thousand years before the Christian era were wrong in their conclusions; and in connection with the visit of the British Association to South Africa in 1905, Mr. David Randall-MacIver, M.A., undertook to explore the ruins, "to remove the uncertainty," and "to settle once and for ever" the Rhodesian enigma. He seems to have made up his mind beforehand that there was little or no ground for the belief in the great antiquity of the ruins, and, as a result of his hurried examination, he came to the conclusion that they were medieval and post-medieval, and constructed by a negro or negroid race closely akin to the present dwellers in the country—that is to say, they were the work, not of Asiatic people, but of unaided African negroes, that the Zimbabwe and other buildings were erected by Kaffirs not earlier than A.D. 1400 or 1500, and possibly even later. He based this conclusion largely on the fact that he found some Nankin china in a trench which he sank "under the foundations of the temple," arguing that the temple must have been built after the china had been deposited there. It appears, however, that this pottery was not really found under the main walls of the temple, but at a depth below the foundations of an internal wall, which there is every reason to believe is of later date than the original building. The "temple," he claims, was evidently a fort, and he jumped to the conclusion that it was the capital of the old Monomotapan kingdom, of which we hear so much from the Portuguese.

That the structure at Zimbabwe was a fort or stronghold, as well as a temple, has been acknowledged by other writers. In form it consists of a great circular or elliptical area, enclosed by a well-constructed wall, 12 feet thick and over 30 feet high, divided by internal walls into a number of courts and passages. It is of such a size, and the walls of such a height, that it never could have been covered in, and was therefore a great enclosure, no doubt for the protection of the gold, cattle, and other valuables against

the attacks of the natives. The Portuguese had told of the great empire of the Monomotapa, the great chief whose territory, at the back of Sofala, between the Zambesi and Limpopo Rivers, extended far across the African continent in the direction of Angola and the Atlantic Ocean. The people over whom the Monomotapa ruled, the Mocaranga, were the same as the Makalanga, or Ma-Karanga, who occupy the country to-day. Zimbabwe was then, Mr. Randall MacIver suggests, the great chief's kraal, the northern part of the great circular enclosure being his residence, and the southern part, where the great conical tower is situated, devoted to ceremonial, perhaps religious, purposes. The "platform area," on this supposition, would be a sort of hall of audience, the platform a dais or throne for the King. The great cone, he suggested, probably represented the majesty of the King himself; the lesser cone near by symbolized his principal wife, his heir, or his first Minister. But Mr. Randall-MacIver ignores the fact that the Monomotapan capital, as described by the Portuguese, lay some 250 miles to the northward, in the bend of the Zambesi, and that the bounds of the empire did not at that time extend as far as Zimbabwe.

The whole theory is, as a matter of fact, a crude supposition, which is entirely unsupported by evidence. Mr. Randall-MacIver, though an archæologist of some repute, acquired from his work in Egypt and Algeria, knew but little of South Africa, which he had not previously visited. His lack of first-hand knowledge of the Bantu natives led him into archæological and ethnical blunders. He gives us no reason to believe that the Ma-Karanga, or any Bantu predecessors, had a culture sufficiently developed to raise the ancient buildings, which required the use of tools entirely unknown to them, and show architectural features, such as an elaborate system of drainage, for which they show no capacity. Had their ancestors been the builders of Zimbabwe and the other ruins, it is not likely that they would not only have forgotten the work of their ancestors, but have lost the arts which were possessed by the builders

and also lost the knowledge of the use and value of gold. The Portuguese records, moreover, prove that the Mocanga were, even in the sixteenth century, pre-eminently an agricultural and pastoral people, with an inherent disinclination to work in deep holes. They did not value gold. Their tradition extends back some hundreds of years, but they do not know who erected the buildings. De Barros, a Portuguese writer, states: "When or by whom these edifices were raised, as the people of the land are ignorant of the art of writing, there is no record; but they say they are the work of the devil, for, in comparison with their power and knowledge, it does not seem possible for them that they should be the work of man." He adds: "The people being barbarous, all their houses are of wood."

Although there is every reason to believe that the buildings were erected by the same people who worked the gold-mines, Mr. Randall-MacIver paid no attention to the latter; yet he practically suggests that the scores of millions of pounds' worth of gold extracted from the rock in the oldest mines was placed on the world's metal market in post-medieval times. This is a suggestion unwarranted by history, research, and the evidence presented by the mines. The ore was worked by "engineers of a high order." Every mining engineer in Rhodesia has spoken of the skill of the ancient miners as altogether beyond the capacity of any present native race. And not a single Bantu authority believes in the hypothesis of Mr. Randall-MacIver.

We must look farther afield for the origin of the buildings. Mr. R. N. Hall, who has devoted some ten years to exploring the buildings, who was the co-author with Mr. W. G. Neal of "The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia," 1902, and has himself written two books on the subject ("The Great Zimbabwe," 1905, and "Prehistoric Rhodesia," 1909), has taken up the case against Mr. Randall-MacIver, and has given a very effective answer in the last of these books. The natives of South Africa could not alone have worked these gold-mines and erected these buildings.

There are many special features at Zimbabwe which throw light on the cult or worship carried on there. A very remarkable feature is the great conical tower. This is a solid structure 31 feet high even in its present incomplete state, built of carefully-dressed granite blocks. This tower could have served no useful purpose. It could not have been a watch-tower, for there was no means of ascending it, and its conical form shows that there could not have been any platform on the top. Being perfectly solid, it contained no treasure-chamber. What was, then, its purpose? It is the only tower of the kind in Africa, and it is alone sufficient to attest foreign influence. To find its prototypes we must look to the Semitic world. The ancients assure us that the Arabs worshipped a tower, which they called *El Acara* or *Alquetila*, which was built by their patriarch *Ishmael*. *Maximus of Tyre* says that they honoured as a great god a great cut-stone. The tower at Zimbabwe doubtless corresponded with the sacred tower of the Midianites, called *Penuel*, or "the face of God," which *Gideon* destroyed, as recorded in the *Book of Judges*. Allusions to these towers are constant in the Bible, and the Arab historian *El Masudi* tells us that the stone or tower was 8 cubits high and was placed in an angle of the temple, which had no roof. Similar towers have been found in Malta and Sardinia, and on an ancient coin of Byblos in Phœnicia is shown a conical tower enclosed within walls. These towers appear to have been symbols of phallic worship, or the worship of the generative power in nature. An ancient writer, *Lucian*, tells us that in the propylæa of the temple at Hierapolis in Mesopotamia there stood two large phalli, about 30 cubits high. The tower at Zimbabwe stood apparently 20 cubits high, and 10 in diameter. He further says, "These phalli are solid," as is the Zimbabwe tower.

In connection with this tower we must also consider a number of objects of an undoubted phallic character which have been found near it. At Zimbabwe, and at Zimbabwe alone in all South Africa, carved phalli have been found in

large numbers, some 200 in all, some of them very realistic in shape, besides carved stone birds on pedestals or beams, and decorated "cup and ring" linga, none of which have been found elsewhere in South Africa. All of these are believed to be associated with the worship of Almaquah (the Ashtaroah of the Scriptures), the Venus of the Romans and Aphrodite of the Greeks, one of the principal deities of the nature and fertility worship common to all the Semitic nations.

All these evidences point to the pre-eminence of Zimbabwe among the many buildings whose ruins still remain south of the Zambesi. It was not only the metropolis and the most important centre for the gold recovery and smelting of these territories, but also the religious centre of this ancient colony. The hypothesis of many leading antiquaries is that Sofala was a port used by nature-worshipping Sabæo-Arabians of Yemen, who are believed to have first discovered the natural wealth of Monomotapa, and who, it is conjectured, erected the earliest Zimbabwe buildings.

This brings us back close to the Queen of Sheba legend. Sheba, or Saba, we know to have been Southern Arabia, the classical Arabia Felix and the modern Yemen; and in the temple of Marib, the capital of Saba, we find similar features to those in the temple of Zimbabwe. There are practically the same plan, system of curved walls, geometrical building, and orientation. We know these Sabæans to have been a very enterprising nation in very early times. Long before the time of Solomon they actively navigated the waters of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, and they had discovered and utilized the monsoons long before the time of Hippalus, who made them known to Western civilization. Their enterprise in Africa goes back far beyond historical record; the Abyssinians of to-day claim that the Queen of Sheba reigned over their country of Ethiopia, and that their present Emperor, Menelik II., is a lineal descendant of Menelik, son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, whose visit to that king is recorded in the Bible. The very name of

Africa, too, is claimed by the Arabs to be derived from that of one of their conquerors. The Sabæans were the great trading nation of those days; they brought gold and precious stones, perfumes, etc., to the Israelites from their distant possessions along the shores of the Erythræan Sea. Long before the time of the Greeks they were acquainted with the navigation of the Indian Ocean. The "Periplus of the Indian Sea," a work on navigation compiled in the time of the Emperor Nero, describes the east coast of Africa all the way to the extremity of the continent, and speaks of the connection of the Arabs with that region as "of old standing." What the Phœnicians were on the Mediterranean and the eastern shores of the Atlantic, the ancient Arabians were on many parts of the Indian Ocean. But the extent of their trade and the geographical explorations connected therewith are but incompletely known at the present day. But there are still extant writings of antiquity which contain interesting information concerning the early enterprises of the Arabs. They show that the inhabitants of the south-western parts of Arabia were the first to open up Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean.

It was, then, from the Sabæans that Solomon obtained the "gold of Ophir." Where was Ophir? This is a question that has puzzled historians and antiquaries for many ages, and the answers have ranged literally "from China to Peru." In view of the enormous production of gold in the earliest times from South-East Africa, it is not surprising that a great weight of opinion has located Ophir in that region. The Portuguese writer, Diego de Conto, writing in 1591 of the gold-mines south of the Zambesi, says: "The richest mines of all are those of Massapa, from which the Queen of Sheba took the greater part of the gold which she went to offer to the Temple of Solomon, and it is Ophir, for the Kaffirs call it Fur, the Moors Afur." João dos Santos, who was in East Africa from 1586 to 1597, also identifies Ophir with the empire of the Monomotapa. Milton, in "Paradise Lost," book xi., line 400, alludes to "Sofala, thought Ophir"; and the

view that Ophir was to be found in this part of South Africa was adopted by Ogilby, Delisle, James Bruce, Dr. Schlichter, and many other writers and travellers. Professor A. H. Keane, however, in his book, "*The Gold of Ophir*," 1901, shows that Ophir was probably a seaport in Southern Arabia, whence the gold was transhipped to other countries, and that it was not the region from which the gold was originally obtained. However this may be, there can be but little doubt that the "gold of Ophir" came from South-East Africa. Nowhere else are there such extensive early rock-mine workings, and no other source for the "gold of Ophir" can compare with the Rhodesian goldfields. Here, then, no doubt, the Sabæans of South Arabia worked their gold with the aid of the aborigines of South Africa—the Bushmen or Hottentots—for this was long before the Bantu negroes had crossed to the south of the Zambesi. And here, too, they, during the many centuries of their exploitation of the country, built those remarkable buildings whose origin has been such a puzzle. These buildings, like those of Arabia, Syria, Sardinia, and Mediterranean countries, were primarily strongholds for defence against the natives, places of asylum in case of attack, towers of observation, temples, treasure stores, food depositories in the event of siege, and arsenals of arms.

These hardy and venturesome Sabæans of old penetrated far beyond the regions reached by the Portuguese, and must have settled in Africa for many centuries in the healthy highlands above the miasmatic coast-belt, beyond which the Portuguese hardly dared to venture. Yet they do not seem to have discovered the goldfields of the Transvaal. There is no evidence of ancient mining on the Rand, or of working for diamonds in the Kimberley district; and the utter absence of any discovery in the ruins in Rhodesia of any precious stones shows that the early Sabæans were not aware of the existence of the valuable gold and diamond fields south of the Limpopo.

How little we yet know of these early gold-seekers!

The veil of centuries has so far only partly been lifted. The exploration of the ruins is yet in its infancy. Scarcely any of the hundreds of ruins have been examined with any thoroughness; and even at Zimbabwe itself, which has already been the subject of a small library of books, Mr. R. N. Hall assures us that not a tenth part has yet been examined. So far no inscriptions have been found. These are the one thing wanting to settle the question as to the identity of the builders. Perhaps some may yet be found. Perhaps, too, the burial-places of these early colonists may also be discovered; for they were not buried in the great enclosures or forts. There are no graves in the Zimbabwe temple or its vicinity. The original occupiers of this pre-historic metropolitan centre must have formed a huge population, and their occupation must have covered centuries. Where, then, were they buried? Perhaps their graves are hidden away in romantic gorges and ravines, in the folds of mountain ranges, which have not yet been discovered and explored. Perhaps, when found, these cemeteries will yield relics which will set at rest the question as to who were the builders of the temple of Zimbabwe and when it was erected.

When and why, too, did they finally leave the country? The Arabs of later times, who come within our historic ken, did not themselves work the gold. The Magadosho Arabs and Persians of A.D. 1000 to 1500 had no settlements inland, and merely bought gold-dust from the natives—the Ma-Karanga, who obtained it by washing from the alluvial deposits. The mines at this period had ceased to be worked, and the miners were already forgotten in a far-distant past. Mr. Hall, in his recently published "*Pre-historic Rhodesia*," says they appear to have been suddenly "wiped out" by some barbarous people, for there are undoubted evidences either of "wiping out" or sudden departure shown at the Zimbabwe temple, and also in the rock mines. Gold ornaments most skilfully wrought, which were evidently prized by them, are found lying about the granite cement floors broken and destroyed. Apparently

there was no opportunity for their removal. The same evidences existed as to the phalli, linga, and other emblems of the form of native-worship practised. These, too, must have been prized by the pre-historic occupiers. The massive soapstone bowls and carved beams also show proof positive that most of them were wilfully broken. Must we look for this sudden departure to the irruption of the Bantu across the Zambesi somewhere about a thousand years ago? Perhaps the temple builders were the victims of some horde of Bantu barbarians arriving from the North who knew nothing of the value of gold or of the form of worship represented by the carved emblems, and would be bound, following the usual Bantu custom, to destroy all the "charms" of their enemies.

The negroes who now inhabit this region—the Makalanga or Ma-Karanga—belong to the great Bantu stock, and have inhabited the same country for many hundred years, for the early Portuguese, in their accounts of the empire of the Monomotapa, speak of the people as the Mocaranga. These Ma-Karanga, "People of the Sun," as their name indicates, are classed with the Bantu group of negroes mainly on philological grounds; they possess characteristics peculiar to themselves, on account of possessing lighter skins and greater intelligence than the other Bantu, and practising distinctly Jewish customs. Their features, too, present a remarkable resemblance to those of the Semites, and their faces are often of a striking Jewish caste. Whence did they derive these features? Was it from intermixture with the early Zimbabwe builders? If so, the disappearance of the latter would seem to be due rather to a rebellion of a slave or subject population than to an irruption from the North. If, on the other hand, the Ma-Karanga had acquired their distinctive features before crossing the Zambesi, it would show that early Semites had also settled and intermixed with the natives in the more tropical parts of Africa. Perhaps their presence south of the Zambesi dates back farther than is generally supposed. The problems of Africa are endless.

YASNA XLIV.

BY PROFESSOR MILLS.

YASNA XLIV., 1-10,* as prospective to a New Edition of S.B.E. XXXI.†

1. This ask I Thee ; tell me aright, O Ahura ;—(b) upon†—the—occasion—of Your§ praise (to be offered) how shall I bow me|| (c), O Mazda ;—may the One like Thee declare it to the friend like me;¶—(d) yea, through A(r)sha** (Archangel of Thy Law), to offer us friendly††

* See S.B.E., xxxi. 107-116.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Nemakhō ā* = "upon the occasion of your praise"; hardly "prayer"? Recall *ā vāiṣahyā*, Y. 30, 2, for grammatical relation.

§ Notice *χēmāvato* = "Your"; so, curiously, "the One like You" = "You," as "the one like me" = "me" (see n. 2, p. 112, S.B.E.).

|| *Nemāi*, or *nemō* = *nemō*.

¶ *Ibid.*

** For "through Thy Righteousness," read "through A(r)sha (Archangel of Thy law)," and so analogously throughout.

†† Reading *Fr̥yā*; so better than a repeated *fr̥yāi*, but hardly "the co-operation of God," and also hardly "through the friend Asha," which would introduce a "third"—or, at least, a second—"friend." The friendly help was here "human," though inspired by Asha, A(r)sha. "Friendly help through the Law" included all the ritual, sacramental, and civic advantages of the Holy System, and "with *Vohu Manah*" included much beside the immediate personal religious experience; so that "with a Good Mind," though a literal, is hardly an adequate reproduction. For the little disputed Sanskrit equivalents, as edited, see the Actes of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in 1897, and for the same as re-edited, see the second (?) Hef of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society for 1911.

co-operations, (e) in order (that the One)* like Thee may approach us (in His representative) with Vohu Manah† (Archangel of Thy Good Mind in Thy Saint). [(That is, 'may'st thou give friendly help (in answer to the following "questions") through Thy Truth Law, that Thy Prophet may be thus prepared to approach us in grace)].

2. This ask I Thee; tell me aright, O Ahura, (b, c) how, in pleasing‡ Him, to serve the Supreme§ (One) of the Best World (Heaven), who may seek after|| those (services at our hands); (d) for He,¶ bountiful (as he is) through A(r)sha** (Archangel of His Law), (e) (as) a

* *Thwōvās to jimat*; so, more obviously, as the immediate subject.

† The instr. *Vohū mananhā* is hardly here used immediately for the nom. as the subject, which, however, recalls the question of "the instr. with inherent nom."

This latter usage occurs only in prominent positions where otherwise the exceptionally important expected subject of the sentence fails, the *rationale* of this usage being: *First*, the *otherwise missing subject*; *secondly*, the *neuter gender* of *A(r)šem* and *Vohu Manah*, which is to an inferior degree expressive of the personality in these concepts, when they are so represented either rhetorically or literally; *thirdly*, the instr. with inherent nom. is at times further explainable only in view of the *dominant significance* of those concepts as here present.

‡ This simple strophe seems to me to have suffered severely from the well-meant efforts of distinguished writers to advance new ideas. *Kābē*, so reading after the excellent hint of the Pahl. trl. in its first and simplest sense as dat. or loc. infin. = "to please," hardly "to recompense."

§ *P(a)u(n)rvām = avyam*, hardly "the originator," still less adverbially as = "at first" after the genitives. It equals the "originally-Supreme One" (see Y. 29, 10; 31, 7; 31, 8; so also a great Vedist [Roth], 45, 3; 51, 3; 51, 15. For the adverbial use, see Y. 30, 4; 43, 5, 8, 11, 15). The idea of "eminence" seems plainly to inhere in the "*purvāh*" of R.V., iii. 54, 4, "the (wise) ones of the early time"; hardly merely "the early ones." So also

|| *Pa(i)tišāt* in its first, strongest, and natural sense, as "may seek after." Recall R.V., x. 129, 4: ". . . *hṛīdī pratiṣyā* . . ." etc.; hardly in the secondary sense "to receive," "to expect," an evidently exaggerated, if well-meant, attempt to introduce a novelty.

¶ One esteemed writer, naturally misled by regarding "the first" as expressing the adverbial force, has supposed *ī* to refer to "the two worlds," which seem but remotely even implied just here. The *ī* refers almost syntactically to the "praise," etc., mentioned in the previous strophe.

** *A(r)šā*, hardly a voc. in close proximity to a word urgently needing a qualifying instr.

Guardian* friend for the people† (is holding off) ruin‡ from us all, O Mazda.§

3. This I ask Thee; tell me aright, O Ahura, (δ) who, indeed,|| through generation¶ (as a generator) was the supreme** father of A(r)sha, (Archangel of the Rhythmic Law);—(ε) who gives the sun and star(s) their way;—(d) who establishes that whereby the moon now†† waxes and wanes, save‡‡ Thee;—(e) these things even, O Mazda, would I know, and others likewise (still).

4. This ask I thee, tell me aright, O Ahura; (δ) who, from beneath, hath sustained the earth and the clouds (ε) from falling;—who made the waters and the plants;—(d) who with the winds hath yoked on the two (?) swift ones§§ to the clouds; who was, O Mazda, the creator of

* *Harō* to Ahura; but thus syntactically only used, as represented by His prophet (cf. Y. 31, 8, *harō v[ā]šnāñi* [of Ahura], where, however, A. "observes sin"). *Maīnyū* as instr. is always somewhat suspiciously too significant; "in spirit" sounds rather modern; a voc. accords with both *Mazdā* and *Ahurā*. At times we are, indeed, forced to render "in spirit," and we welcome that necessity; hardly here instr. for nom. (l).

† *Ahūbīš*, "for the people"; hardly *ahūmbīš* = "healing the world," or, better, "the people." "Healing the life" would be somewhat impalpable, this to *bhūkaj*; so, also, not "beseeching for their life," to *-bīkē*, as I formerly suggested. The *m* of *ahūmbīš*, if so read, may be one of those accidental intrusions of the case form, of which *yan(a)štāitē* affords us an example. One writer, most properly anxious to say something "new," thinks that the *-bīš* is a possessive suffix.

‡ "Disaster" rather than "sin" here.

§ The voc. *mazdā* through attraction from *Ahurā*, the oblique diction continuing. For the Sanskrit equivalents, which, oversights and additions excepted, few would dispute, see Z.D.M.G., as above cited.

|| *Kasnā* = *quisnam*; another, with the Pahl., Pers., and Ner., *quī-*, *qui-*, *vir*. It is at least refreshing to see the immense value of these hints more fully attended to, even when they may happen to be erroneous at particular places.

¶ "Generation" rather than "creation" (see *patā* [pitā]).

** *P(a) (u)rvyō* = "first"—i.e., "supreme as of old" (cf. strophe 2).

†† *ōvat*, abl. sg., or to Ved., "*tvād-* . . . *tvād-*" vii. 101, 3; the essential second *tvād*, however, fails. The Sanskrit equivalent would be here again little disputed (see them in Z.D.M.G.).

‡‡ *Ibid.*

§§ Hardly the too abstract "who yoked on celerity." Cf., for form only the two *harī* (Ved.), one of the two here being evidently "the lightning,"

Vohu namah* as (alive within Thy Saint) who was, O Mazda, (*i.e.*, who was the Creator of the only recognizable Man as Vohu Manah.)†

5. This I ask Thee, tell me, O Ahura,—(*b*) who, (as a skilful-artisan, hath made the lights and the darkness;—(*c*) who (as thus) skilful hath made sleep and the zest (of waking hours);—(*d*) who (spread) the Auroras, the noontides, and nights; (*e*) monitors to discerning (man) of duty's (hours).

6. This I ask Thee; tell me aright, O Ahura, (*b*) those things which I am speaking forth,—if they are thus (as I speak them) true—?;—(*c*) Doth Aramaiti‡ (Archangel of our Holy Zeal) cause A(r)sha (as Thy Holy State) to prosper in (or “through”) effective actions;—(*d*) to these (Thy true saints, whom I am now indoctrinating) doth she (indeed) assign the Government, through Vohu Manah (Thy good Mind of Thy loyal citizen);—(*e*) for whom (indeed) hath Thou fashioned the joy-producing mother Cow (emblem and source of our Toilsome wealth.)

7. Read Aramaiti “Archangel of the Holy Zeal.”

This I ask Thee tell me aright, O Ahura;—(*b*) who fashioned the beloved Aramaiti (Archangel of the Holy Zeal), together with Khshathra (The Sovereign Authority);—(*c*) who hath through-(his)-discriminating-guidance§ made the son reverential towards the Father;—(*d*) gladly

the other (?) possibly its “swift rolling” reverberations (?); or *āsū* may be simply pl., “the swift lightnings.”

* *I.e.*, who created man (as in the typical person of Thy Saint).

† For the Sanskrit equivalents, see Z.D.M.G., as above indicated.

‡ Some would ingeniously relieve the lurking tautology of (*c*) thus: “Will A(r)sha, with his actions, bring help? Will Aramaiti?” A(r)sem, however, has here rather the place of the acc. An eminent Vedist was very fond of seeing the “Holy Congregation” in A(r)sha as “the good man” as *Vohu Manah*, thus securing fuller realism. For the other alternatives, see *Gāthas*, pp. 190-191, 192, and 526-527; for the Sanskrit equivalents, see Z.D.M.G.

§ Hardly “Ahura through example,” which would be rather involved; “through guidance” would be better.

I press* Thee for full knowledge therefore with these† (questions), O‡ Bounteous Spirit, (to know Thee) as the Creator of all.

8. This I ask Thee tell me aright, O Ahura, (δ) that I may ponder§ what|| is Thy revealed command,¶—(ε) and what words-of-doctrine I asked** (as sacred sayings inspired) through Vohumanah†† (Archangel of Thy Good Mind);—(d') and that whereby we may attain‡‡ through A(r)sha's (Truth-Law) to this life's energetic-action,§§—(ε) yea, how may my soul joyfully advance||| toward that good (goal)?;—let it thus progress."¶¶

9. This I ask Thee, tell me aright, O Ahura (δ) How***

* *Avāmī*: hardly "With these questions I help Thee as the Creator of all," which would be rather indirect. The object of the questions asked was to obtain information, and only indirectly to impart the information acquired. "To know through the Holy Ghost" would be needlessly far too modern, and, as always, in so far improbable. *Avāmī*, in the sense of "endearing," "caressing," "approach" (cf. R.V., x. 140: "... *putrē matūrā vilhrann īpō vasi* . . ."). To render the idea of "help" here too prominent would be to surrender to the "etymology" of *avaṣ*.

† *Tāiḥ* = "therefore" = "with these (questions)."

‡ The foregoing *θvā* determines *mainyā* to a voc. For the Sanskrit equivalents, see Z.D.M.G.

§ Infim. for imperv., 1st sg.

|| *Yā*, n.s.f. or n.pl.f.

¶ Cf., "revealed doctrines and commands."

** As 1st sg. pret. med., the *ī* remaining clear, so as more personal than a 3rd sg. passive.

†† Hardly "from V.M." An incisive instr. is urgently needed to express the animus of the questions.

‡‡ Infinitively.

§§ *Arēm* to *āra*, in *ār(a)maiti* (see strophe 7).

|| I now refer *arvākyā* here, as I do elsewhere to ind. *vraj*.

¶¶ In favour of my *ag(ε)maṣ* to *tā* (*tena*) may be the second caesura, for such exists beyond question; others formerly read *āg(ε)matā*, 3rd sg med.: "How shall my soul advance toward the good and reach it?" So, for strophes with the sense always confined in space too contracted perhaps somewhat redundantly.

*** *Kaθā*, in its strongest sense as equalling "how," is here imperatively necessary; to take it as the mere sign of the question here, as so often analogously "how" is used in English, would be most ineffective. The "completion of the *Dena*" would be but an impaired expression of the *dea* in Avesta *yaoṣ*, which universally expresses "purification." The

shall I hallow* to myself (the more) the Dena's (Holy Insight of Thy Faith), (c) which the Lord† of the beneficent Kingdom may teach us, (d) He, the One like Thee,‡ (Thy Dena as containing Thine) enactments§ through His true—and—lofty|| Sovereign-Authority,¶ (e) He dwelling** in like Abode with A(r)sa, (Archangel of Thy Law in Thy Community) and with Vohu Manah (as Thy Good Mind in thy Saint). [That is to say, 'How shall I further sanctify —i.e., reform and edify Thy faith, which Thou may'st reveal to us through Thy dominant Sovereign Power in our conflict, O Ahura, Thou dwelling in like abode with Thy Congregation and Thy believing saint].

10. This I ask Thee, tell me aright, O Ahura, (δ) that Dena (Insight-of-the-Holy-Faith) which is of all things†† best, (c) and which going-on-hand-in-hand with A(r)sha (Archangel of Thy Just Law) may further my settlements,‡‡ (d) (and) with the sacred words of Aramaiti§§ (Archangel of

interior rebuilding-up of the religion is everywhere indicated (see the terms "in thought," "in word," "in deed").

* The second *yaosh* as later insertion, in spite of the metre, something having fallen out, or words pronounced with metrical lengthening of the vowel.

† *Paitiē*: whether hardly at all to *Vistāspa*, far better, with the syntax, to Ahura, as throughout in the oblique diction of the 3rd personal; if, indeed, to V., then only as representing Ahura (see *θvāvār*).

‡ *θvāvār* to Ahura, as in 44, 1.

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Erešvā*: hardly as "certain," more as "sublime" (cf. Y. 29, 3).

¶ *χāābrā*: hardly as pl. (I), better instr. sg.

** Notice the frequent and well adapted occurrence of the idea of "dwelling," and recall *m(a)ēθā* in this light. For the Sanskrit equivalents, see Z.D.M.G.

†† *Hātām* is more naturally gen. pl. neut. for *haitinām*, *metri causa*, so, more obviously before a *vahistā*; otherwise the best (possession) of all (persons?). Recall Y. 29, 3. N.B.—*Hātām* cannot equal "animals" here.

‡‡ Settlements, wide farm-lands, their people.

§§ *Ar(a)matīš* in no sense = "the earth" here, as so often in the later Avesta and in Veda; it is in strict etym. force with *uxθāš* (?). Yet notice the farm-settlements just before, and recall also *arēm* in 8; *ara* = "ploughing zeal," as the first concept of civilization, to *ar-* in *aratrum*; from this also the Ved. *arūmatīḥ* = "the earth."

our Energetic zeal) may regulate and make their deeds (of toil and ritual) correct ; * (ε) let the prayers of my sanctified-understanding† seek‡ for Thee O Mazda.

SOME ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

The Avesta, like all similar studies, labours for its practical reproduction under the disadvantage of a twofold interest. We all of us feel that everything should be done to promote "discovery," and therefore we are urged the more to present suggestions which, while new, sometimes appear to others to be more than hazardous. This has induced many writers to proceed in a manner which seems most reprehensible, for their excuse is worse than their original error.

It is not an explanation which can be freely expressed, but it is one which is universally understood, and it is no less than the fact that these writers scarcely credit their own new suggestions themselves, and yet they place them in the main texts of the translations, soon, indeed, to be withdrawn as no longer tenable. Why not, however, put the most serious views that we can decide upon in the main text of our translations, reserving all "wilder" efforts as *alternative* treatment in our notes? The answer to this seems to me to verge still further upon what is puerile. It is that "the new suggestions would not so readily strike the attention of readers if they were not presented as if they were urgently necessary to the most immediate

* *Ereš daisyāt* : hardly to *dī*, "correctly observe"; the *i* is epenthetic. The line end, like the cæsura, generally begins, where feasible, a minor subdivision of the thought; hardly "the actions of my thought," "intention," which would be hazardously modern.

† *Čisti* had an exceptionally emphatic sense; it could not so consistently be regarded as being anywhere "astray."

‡ *Usēn*, 3rd pl. pret., (conj.) used act. Ved., *uṣan*; recall *uṣanta*. See the stem *uṣa*: "Let my prayers" (or "the praying ones") "beseech for, *usēn*"; hardly an instr. without sign. (!), or a neut. pl. acc. It stands simply = *usan*, 3rd pl. pret. conj. act.: "Let my prayers seek," or "Let the praying ones of my Chisti seek for Thee" (that is, for Thine, "the interests of Thy cause," so as above), "O Mazda!"

elucidations," which is, indeed, seldom or never the case. But is this science? If it is, what, then, is empiricism? And this fashion has been carried to such a pitch as that the exercise of the faculty of sane judgment itself seems actually to be scouted.* Above all things, these well-meaning and often partially useful writers formerly affected much depreciation of all their predecessors, so much so as to disdain the Pahlavi alphabet, and would, until quite lately, taboo what they termed the "old translations." Fortunately for science, a writer who is charged with such a duty as to reproduce the Gāthas in a series like the "Sacred Books of the East," is especially protected from the anomalies of a method so degenerate as that alluded to. The "Old Translations" are the *primâ facie* impressions of men of sound judgment, and they are likewise full of the most realistic suggestions, where the more erratic new attempts are one by one later ignored. So that, after all, the redoubted Gāthas are at last practically rendered, if minor uncertainties still linger unsolved; and they would have been so represented long ago, save that, from their paramount importance, they imperatively demand of all presuming expositors that they give evidence that they have exhaustively studied the subject in all its main details.† Formerly the line was drawn at the Pahlavi

* One great Vedist mentioned to me that from the safer translations he "learned nothing." Are, then, our reproductions for the general learned public to be rendered "unfit for their use" by that public, for the sake of "teaching" two or three advanced individual scholars? They simply wish to monopolize the subject; and this is well known.

† This the "situation" imperatively demands. Nothing is easier at present than to render the Gāthas, after all the work that has been expended upon them, respectably. But the Gāthas are of such a "position" of importance from every point of view that every professed independent expositor must perforce make evident that he has studied the subject exhaustively in all its possible bearings; and, "above all," said the great and lamented Pischel (Z.D.M.G., 1896), "one must show that he thoroughly understands the Pahlavi translation." It is here upon these ancient expository texts that the chief difficulties intervene. At the present date the task of rendering the Gāthas respectably, after all that has been written upon them, compares in severity with this labour involved in deciphering and editing the Pahlavi translations, as one is to "sixteen."

translations, which a certain group, now no longer visible, openly declared to be beyond their powers to decipher. This hindrance should now be considered at an end, as very many of those once so inscrutable texts have now been edited, with the collation of all the MSS., and translated as deciphered in my Gāthas; see also nearly all the rest of the Pahlavi Yasna in Z.D.M.G. and J.R.A.S. as per index.

The question as to the degree of authority to be allowed to the Pahlavi texts, as supplemented by Nēryosangh's Sanskrit and the Persian, may be regarded as settled. No one would now venture to avow their ignorance of its rudiments,* and this knowledge is now regarded by these same parties, teacher and taught, as being indispensably essential, the indicated views of the Pahlavi translators being neither slavishly followed nor totally unattempted, for to characterize a crass neglect as the mere "ignoring" of documents would be to pay it too high a compliment.

The immediate points of the detailed literary sense in the Gāthic strophes are to be forever uncertain: recall the uncertainties of Pindar. The author, or authors, had no misgivings on account of the obscurity of their productions, for they felt that they could rely upon supplementary personal instructions, which are now for the most part lost to us, for no "tradition" can be fully trusted. Those ancient original composers could not have later on *explained their own strophes* unless they remembered carefully the points which they had formerly intended to make.

One essential condition to the problem seems to be the way in which we treat the metrical flow. This involves syntax everywhere. Writers seem to exercise their ingenuity in discovering syntactical connections with a total disregard of the rhythmic closing of the sub-sense with the line's ends and the cæsuras. Of course, the main sense con-

* Though I have had, not so long ago, in Oxford most prominent auditors who came from a well-known German teacher of Avesta, this latter having avowed his incapacity to impart information upon these commentaries.

tinually goes over these rhythmical divisions; but it involves the ruin of the Gāthas as rhythmical compositions to neglect the subordinate breaking up of the syntactical connection by overlooking what alone gives them their rhythmic character. Here, as I acknowledge, I "differ from all my colleagues."

Yet what makes the Gāthas inestimable is clear in every line: they are the first historical literary documents of definitive interior religion and of the "moral idea," indicating also a vastly extended *suggestion* of it, which obtained such a form and exercised such a penetration that its summarized chief points even reached the shores of Greece three centuries before Christ.* However much, then, we may differ as to the detailed points in our views among ourselves as regards these strophes, we are unanimous as to what gives any view of them its value. We can therefore tolerate all the more fully any divergencies in subordinate opinion, while as to one particular of crucial as also of fundamental interest all are again united. That particular is this: that the root-value of nearly all the words is totally undisputed, as are also, to a very great extent, their grammatical forms, these latter becoming all the more clear as we more fully decipher the Avesta alphabet.† This deeply interesting fact comes into fullest light when we turn the Avesta forms into those of its twin-sister Vedic Sanskrit, Here eminent Vedists have already recognized with gratification the striking identities between the two so closely related branches.

I regard it also as a very gratifying circumstance indeed that my own well-meant attempts in this direction have been so indulgently received, and, if time be spared, they shall be continued.‡

* See also the growing and well-grounded impression among scholars that their views had their influence upon Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic opinion:

† An item still under investigation. See my continuous suggestions, dating from 1887, the most striking of which has been strenuously discussed in Germany, and also followed by Darmesteter.

‡ See Roth's Festgruss, p. 193.

BĀBUR'S DIWĀN.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

THERE is, in the Library of the Nawāb of Rāmpūr in Rohilkand, a small manuscript of Turkī and Persian verses by the Emperor Bābur. It is supposed in Rāmpūr that the manuscript is in Bābur's own handwriting; but the fact is, that only a Turkī quatrain and a signature were Bābur's autograph, and that the last two lines of the quatrain and the signature have disappeared in the re-binding. There is an attestation in Shah Jehan's handwriting that the quatrain and the signature were written by Bābur.

I believe that the existence of the manuscript was first brought to notice by myself in an article on "Persian Manuscripts in Indian Libraries," which was published in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* for 1901, p. 77. But I lay no claim to having discovered the manuscript. It was shown to me by the librarian as one of the treasures of the library. Since then the Diwān has been published in facsimile and in print by my friend Dr. Denison-Ross in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's *Journal* for 1910, vol. vi., extra number.

The Diwān is by no means a complete collection of Bābur's verses. There are several quoted or referred to in the Memoirs and the *Abūshqa* which are not in it. It also wants the long religious poem which Bābur wrote in

Afghanistan, and a large part of which has been published by Berezine (Kasan, 1857). Twelve pages out of the twenty-three in Dr. Denison-Ross's edition are taken up with a versified rendering of a long and dull religious exposition by *Khawājah* 'Ubaid Ullah Ahrār of Samarkand. The treatise was called the "*Risāla Wāliidiya*," apparently because the *Khawājah* had presented it to his father. Bābur, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*, versified the work in the hope that the *Khawājah*, who had been dead for many years, would cure him of his sickness, just as the author of the "*Borda*" was cured of his paralysis for writing the poem in the praise of Muḥammad (see Dr. Uri's edition of the "*Borda*," Leyden, 1761). Bābur began his rendering on November 11, 1528, and finished it on the 28th of the following month. This was in the year of the Hare, or 935 A.H. At p. 2 Bābur describes how the treatise came to be known as the "*Risāla Wāliidiya*"—that is, apparently, "*The Parent's Treatise*." He calls himself the translator, so perhaps the original was in Persian. Several of the other verses in the *Diwān* appear in the *Memoirs*. Those which are new are not, I think, of any great interest. One in *Turkī*, p. 17, is addressed to someone in *Khurāsān*. Another, p. 21, expresses Bābur's sorrow for the want of grapes and melons in India. The second line repeats an old complaint of his about the want of running streams in India, and says, in epigrammatic fashion, that, owing to his being separated from flowing water, there is always water flowing from his eyes! On the same page, and on p. 20, there is, as Dr. Ross has pointed out, a singular verse in which Urdu and *Turkī* are combined, *motī*, a pearl, being made to rhyme with *rotī*, bread. On pp. 22 and 23 there is a note by Bābur on a question of metre, and there is a reference to a visit to *Sambhal*, and then follow three versions in different metres, of a quatrain about the cruelty of a friend. These are followed by a note which I was puzzled to understand. I think, however, that my wife's suggestion is correct—namely, that the note means that

Bābur had written certain verses, included in the Diwān, in order to induce a friend to visit India. I do not know who the friend was, but I do not think it was Khwājah Kilān. Possibly it refers to Bābur's wife Māhim, or to some other member of his family. They were then in Kabul. The note is dated Monday, Rabi'a-l-Ākhir 15, 935 = December 28, 1528.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM.

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

ONE of the most salient facts in modern history is the decline—we might almost say the extinction, of the political power of all the nations whose social and religious systems are governed by the laws laid down by the Arabian Prophet according to the Revelation which he professed to have received from on high. For a thousand years the rival forces of Islam and of Christendom faced each other on equal terms: at one time the Arabs reached the Pyrenees and crossed the straits of Messina; at another the Crusaders besieged Damascus; the Crescent was planted on the walls of Buda, and the Cross was raised above the domes of Astrachan. At one time the Frank was master of Palestine; at another the Turk was master of Hungary. The opposed ideals and conflicting social and political systems of the two rival creeds clashed all along the boundaries which divide Europe from Asia, and all along the seas which separate it from Africa. Only two hundred years ago the Turks were contesting the possession of Hungary with the Germans on the battlefield; Nadir Shah was compelling the Russian troops to evacuate the northern provinces of Persia; the Dey of Algiers was taking toll from all Christian merchantmen; and the wealth and magnificence of the Court of the Grand Mogul at Delhi was exciting the envy and astonishment of

European travellers. The scene on the stage of history is strangely different to-day. The Austrian seizes on two provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and the Turk dare not even murmur; Russian troops again occupy the northern districts of Persia, and this time defy all attempts to remove them; the French tricolour floats over the Corsair cities; and an English King comes to seat himself and his Consort on the imperial throne of the Great Mogul. The sword of the warriors of Islam has been broken, and the sceptre is now being wrested from its rulers. To-day there is not a single Moslem State, save and except only Afghanistan, that is really independent: they are all either under the actual protection of some Christian nation or under the influence and control of the Great Powers of Europe. Both Turkey and Persia are dependent on Europe for pecuniary assistance, and are obliged to submit their financial affairs to the control of European agents. The European Ambassadors at Constantinople interfere in the internal management of the Turkish Empire and regulate the affairs of Crete and Macedonia; the Russians garrison Tabriz, and the English land marines to maintain peace and order in Bushire. The affairs of Morocco are settled at a conference of European diplomatists. Bokhara and Khiva are tributary to Russia, and the surviving Musalman States of India to Great Britain. Egypt, Zanzibar, Muscat, and the Malay States are under the protectorate of England, and Tunis under that of France. Some States have disappeared from the map altogether; the Crimea and Khokand have been annexed by Russia; Yarkand by China, Algiers by France. The interior of Africa is divided up among the various European Powers, and Mahdists and Senoussiya struggle in vain against the superior arts and arms of the intruders. Even Afghanistan can hardly be reckoned entirely independent of foreign control, for its Amir accepts a pecuniary subsidy from the British Government in India on condition of submitting his relations with foreign powers to its control. Of the

great Empire of the Arabian Khalifs hardly a spot remains that is not subject directly or indirectly to the influence of its ancient enemies. The age-long strife between West and East, between the contending forces of Christendom and Islam, appears to have ended in the complete discomfiture and disarmament of the latter. The Arab shaikh who saw the English Guards marching through the streets of Misr-al-Kahira, the victorious city; the Turkish Khoja who saw the banner of the Christian Kaiser, with the doubled-headed eagle hoisted on the yellow tower of Serajevo that had once defied the arms of Prince Eugene, might well feel in their hearts as they exclaimed with their lips, "Islam is overthrown!"

For the knowledge of the present position of affairs has come to the Moslem world as a rude awakening from a blissful slumber of centuries in which it had revelled in the memory of past glories and the dream of present power and grandeur. The Musalman of the Middle Ages, in his self-sufficient isolation, knew nothing, and desired to know nothing, of what was passing in the unknown world beyond the frontiers of Dar-ul-Islam. He was convinced that he alone was in possession of the Divine Revelation which was the only sure guide to fortune and success in the affairs of this world and the next; and he waited patiently for the time when the nations still unconverted should enter the fold and adopt the creed and the culture of Islam. He studied history, but it was only the history of the conquests made by Musalman kings and emperors; he studied geography, but it was only the geography of the countries between Cairo and Kashghar. He believed that all the science and art and wealth and power in the world were concentrated in Islam, and that outside its pale nothing existed worth his study or attention. He knew that there were countries and peoples outside the pale; the Rúš in the North, Chín and Machín to the East, the Seven Infidel Kingdoms of the Farang to the West; but these were so comparatively insignificant that they were hardly to be

taken into account. Fifty years ago the Musalmans of India generally believed that the Sultan of Turkey was the greatest monarch on the face of the globe, and that the Christian Kings of Europe paid tribute to him. This complacent self-sufficiency and colossal ignorance of what was going on in the world outside was, doubtless, a contributing cause of the decay of the power of Islam: early in the nineteenth century a few statesmen in Turkey and Egypt awoke to the fact, and Sultan Mahmūd the Second in Turkey, and Mehemet Ali Pasha in Egypt, endeavoured to arrest the decay by borrowing the civil and military institutions of the enemies whom they had so long despised. They hoped that by adopting some of the external features of European civilization they might qualify themselves to again meet the European face to face on equal terms. But their innovations had regard only to externals, and left the spirit of Islam untouched and unaltered, and their superficial remedies had at best but a partial and temporary effect, and in the long run only aggravated the disorders and accelerated the ruin. The Christian nations had been progressing while Islam stood still, and now the increasing intercommunication between West and East brought the two rival social and political systems into closer contact, and the weaker was forced to give way. Christendom had immeasurably increased its powers, and Islam was no longer capable of repelling its advances: it could no more protect itself from the infiltration of Christian ethics and European ideas. Increased facilities of intercourse, railways and telegraphs, the newspaper press, and Western education have all combined to arouse the Musalman world from its dream of contentment, and to awaken it to the fact that it had long been living in a Fool's Paradise. The awakening at first gave birth to a revival of the pristine methods of Islam, to desperate attempts to put the hands of the clock of time back to where they stood at the death of the Prophet Muhammad, such as the Wahabi movement in Central Arabia, the Senoussiya propaganda in

Northern Africa, and the Mahdist rising in the Egyptian Soudan. But these attempted reformations have all proved dead failures, for they have all been retrograde and not progressive movements. The Young Turks and the Persian Nationalists have adopted a different line of policy and struck out in a new direction. They have thrown the old ideals and standards of Islam clear overboard, and have boldly adopted the ethics and the politics of their Christian neighbours. They have substituted the brotherhood of man for the brotherhood of believers, and have adopted a democratic form of government in the place of a theocratic one.

Will this new departure arrest the decay of the political power and national strength of the people of Islam? That remains to be seen. The experiment of putting new wine into old bottles is always a risky one. To what cause can we attribute the mysterious dry-rot which undermines the institution of all Musalman nations at the present day and makes them incapable of self-government or of self-defence? The answer probably might be found in the fact that they have been obsessed by an outworn creed, by a code of ethics and politics which was framed to suit the conditions of life in the Arab nation fifteen centuries ago, and which piety and prejudice have prevented them from improving or discarding. But for the Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe, Christendom might have been as Islam to-day, and the rival hosts might still have been watching each other across the Straits of Gibraltar and the banks of the Danube and the Dnieper. But while Christendom adopted Reason and Expediency for its guide, Islam, unfortunately for itself, held fast to Faith and Revelation.

The Young Turk may be compared to the civilized Jew or to the Modernist in the Roman Church. The civilized Jew conforms to the rites of his old religion merely from custom and habit, while he has entirely renounced its spirit, and has adopted the moral and ethical standards of the Christians among whom he dwells. The Modernist

sees the anachronism of medieval beliefs and practices in the world of to-day, and strives to bring the beliefs and practices of the Church which he loves and reveres into harmony with altered conditions of social life and new physical truths discovered by science. The new school of reformers in Islam is desirous of achieving a similar result, and aims at setting up a modern standard of ethics and culture in the Musalman world. The appearance of the new sect of Babis, who, while holding fast to the old traditions of Islam, proclaim a new dispensation, and make altruism the leading tenet of their code of morals (in the same way that Christians reconcile the conflicting moral codes revealed in the Old and the New Testaments) is a cardinal instance of this new tendency. We must all wish success to this new movement and all hope that it may succeed; that the aspirations of the young Turks and of the Persian Babis may be fulfilled, and that the present century may witness the restoration of the nations which profess the faith of Islam to a political status in the civilized world corresponding to the extent of their populations and their territories and worthy of their ancient renown.

THE ANCIENT CITY AND STATE OF KUTCHAR.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE interesting ruins close by this town have within the past few years been successively visited by Japanese, German, and Russian archaeological parties; but it was reserved for M. Paul Pelliot, of the French Mission (1907-08), to make a clean sweep of everything available that remained in the way of historical documents; and finally Dr. Aurel Stein, of the Indian Government's Educational Service—who may, therefore, be said to represent England's otherwise backward share in the exploration business—visited the place early in the year 1908, on his return from Tun-hwang, at which last place he had already been a little in advance of M. Pelliot in the joint scientific plunder of the now famous Thousand Buddha Grottos. It is the *caches* in these grottos which have yielded such an amazing quantity of artistic and historical loot to the critical curiosity of European, and even of Chinese, inquirers into antiquity.

Under the circumstances, therefore, it may be acceptable to those interested if a few lines are now specially dedicated to the history of Kutchar, as recounted in standard Chinese annals, eked out by a few extracts from other Chinese works of less official weight. The most interesting feature in MM. Stein and Pelliot's marvellous documentary finds lies in the fact that, as M. Pelliot forcibly puts it, we

are now for the first time face to face with, and in a position to examine, genuine original ancient Chinese archives and workaday documents as handed from hand to hand, instead of throwing ourselves back upon the eternal and somewhat dreary books of annals, which, trustworthy though they may be as general summaries, are none the worse for the specific confirmation, directly or indirectly, of individual facts by papers 800 or 1,000 years old, actually used in the course of religious or popular life, without there being any contemplation of future publicity, and thus any temptation to "cook" them. Truly this joint haul of tens of thousands of original ancient documents is one of the great literary events of the twentieth century, if, indeed, it does not ultimately prove to be one of the most significant munimental discoveries of all past time. The more pity, therefore, that so few persons in Great Britain can be found to interest themselves in the matter.

Kutchar is now what it has always been—so far back as our historical memory can take us—an important settled Turki or Sart town, situated on a small stream* flowing from the north, which joins the Inchike tributary of the Tarim River. The Inchike itself, according to Stein's excellent map, takes its rise near the Tengri Khan Peak, to the north of Aksu. The latitude of Kutchar is about $41^{\circ} 30'$ north, and the longitude about $83^{\circ} 15'$ east of Greenwich. The modern Chinese name for the place is *K'u-ch'ê*, which (by a Chinese "Grimm's law" totally ignored by the Chinese, and as yet mastered by comparatively few Europeans) almost exactly represents the sound Kuchar—or Kutchar, as M. Pelliot writes it—which is presumably the local Turki pronunciation of that place-name. From the first discovery of the place by the Chinese, in about the year 100 B.C., the Chinese scribes and historians have employed, in order to represent this native sound, certain

* So far as I can make out, this is the "Kungei-kok Su" of the Russian staff maps of twelve years ago.

of their own rigid pictograms or characters, but always accompanied by notes or glosses added by commentators with a view to explaining that these characters are a clumsy makeshift, and that the translation can only be approximate at best. Of course, there is a difference between the modern and the ancient pronunciation of these same Chinese characters; but even if we ignore this further complication, and take them as actually pronounced now in this or that part of China proper, we get such "average" sounds as the (vulgar English) *Kew-tser* and *Koot-tsay*, which are quite near enough to show what sounds 2,000 years ago the historians in a general way really had in their ears. Therefore we may safely say that Kutchar bears exactly the same name now that it did 2,000 years ago, and that it occupies the same old site, which we are told then was 300 *li* (about 100 miles) north of the Yellow River. By this the Chinese mean the Tarim, which at that time was erroneously supposed to be the upper course of the Yellow River. The latter (in the absence of any Chinese knowledge of Tibet) was believed to take its rise near Khoten, to run underground in the Lob Nor region, and to reappear above the ground near Tsih-shih, much nearer to China. The error was not clearly dissipated until A.D. 1280, when Kublai Khan sent an officer to locate the true sources of the Yellow River. The place-name Tsih-shih, or "Piled Stones," dates from at least 900 B.C., and, indeed, the very name of Kutchar is quoted in the *Shui-king* Commentary, which is known to be partly based upon the Bamboo Annals dealing with that remote period.

At the time Kutchar was discovered by the Chinese it was, like most of the Turki towns of the Tarim Valley, ruled by a more or less independent native kinglet. In the year 104 B.C. a Chinese General was despatched on a punitive mission* to the State known to us in modern times

* As usual, I endeavour to use as few uncouth Chinese names as possible; but those conversant with Chinese records will have no difficulty

as Khokand, and on his way back passed through the petty State of Keria, so often visited in our own times by Stein, Sven Hedin, and others. Of course, the place was known by another name 2,000 years ago, but it was certainly either the modern Keria or "that part of the Khotan dominions lying to the west of the Koltia Kol." It was discovered by the returning army that the King of Keria had sent his son and heir as hostage to the King of Kutchar, a course of proceeding disapproved by the Chinese General, who at once reproached the King of Kutchar for his presumption, saying that "all the foreign States are now subject to China alone." The heir in question was accordingly despatched to the Chinese Court, whence he was sent some years afterwards to plant a colony of Chinese cultivator soldiers at a spot which later became the seat of the High Commissioner's residence, lying a little to the east of Kutchar. Instigated, however, by one of his nobles, the King of Kutchar promptly killed the temerarious young man; but (it is added) "China was unable to do anything." Meanwhile the Chinese General, whose haughty patriotism had caused all this trouble, had deserted in the year 90 B.C. to the Hiung-nu (that is, to the Scythians, Huns, or later Turks) on account of his having been detected in some political conspiracy against the Emperor's interests.

These events give us the opportunity of explaining once more the political situation in High Asia, and how it was that the Chinese were gradually led on to the discovery of the Roman Empire. The Huns, about a century before this, had, under their Jenuye (or Khan) Baghdur, for the first time formed a really disciplined and far-reaching

in supplying all proper names for themselves, especially as important dates are always given. The general reader will find it easier to follow the various tribal movements here recorded if he refers to my papers on Kashgar, Yarkand, and Samarcand, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1905-06, and to various articles upon the Ephthalites, Turks, Avars, etc., published in the same *Review* for 1902-04.

"horseback" empire in the northern steppes; they had driven west a powerful nomadic nation akin to themselves, which nation, under the name of *Yüeh-chi*, had in their flight passed along the Kutchar, Kashgar, and Khokand route, displaced certain of the Bactrian and Saka tribes, and settled permanently in the Oxus region.* It was in order to form alliances with the *Yüeh-chi* against their common enemies, the Huns, that the Chinese had sent armies westwards on expeditions of diplomatic discovery, and it was whilst in course of negotiation with the *Yüeh-chi* that the Chinese ran foul of, and were ultimately obliged to "conquer," Khokand, with the results above described. When the King of Kutchar found it necessary to advance as far east as Bukur in order to slay his former hostage, the Chinese *protégé*, the Chinese High Commissioner's residence was at a place now called Tchadir, midway between Kurlya and Bukur, on the road from Urumtsi to Kutchar, and perhaps it was on this account that the residence was soon after moved farther westward, from Tchadir to Bukur. Nothing much is recorded of Kutchar at this date, except that the inhabitants were able to cast and smelt metals, and, moreover, possessed plenty of lead.

The Ili Valley was at this time occupied by another (presumably also Turkish) race of nomads called Wu-sun, who had had to fly west to escape the assaults of the *Yüeh-chi* a generation or more before the *Yüeh-chi* had themselves to fly west to avoid the Huns. In making their way west to the Oxus, the *Yüeh-chi* seem to have left these Wu-sun nomads severely alone on their right hand. As the Wu-sun had applied for and received Hun protection when they fled west, they were originally beholden to the Huns for their new quarters in the Ili Valley, and therefore it became a Chinese interest to detach these Wu-sun from the Hun connection. Accordingly, a Chinese Princess was given in

* See "China and the Ancient Cabul Valley" (October, 1905), and "Tartars and Chinese before the Time of Confucius" (October, 1907), in the *English Historical Review*.

marriage to the uncouth Wu-sun Khan, and one of the prettiest ancient poems that has come down to us is a lament composed by the Chinese Princess, bewailing her fate, and expressing her disgust with a tent life and a flesh and koumiss diet. Huns, Turks, and Wu-sun all alike had the custom of taking over wives and concubines on a demise of the Crown (always with the exception of one's own natural mother), and, in accordance with this rule (which still exists), the Chinese Princess was duly passed on to the "Fat King,"* whose daughter by her we find in 65 B.C. figuring as the wife of the King of Kutchar. The latter, proud of his position as Chinese "grandchild" by marriage, applied for permission to accompany his wife to the Imperial Court, whither she had in any case been previously anxious to proceed in order to learn how to play the harpsichord. The pair were received with great show of honour, much to the disgust of the other Tartar† men, who used to say satirically: "An ass and yet no ass, a horse and yet no horse, like the King of Kutchar—what they call a mule." This King's son succeeded to the Kutchar throne in due course, and styled himself an "outer grandson" of China—*i.e.*, a grandson on the female side. There were numerous further royal visits to China up to the year 31 B.C.. Soon after that the Imperial Han Dynasty was extinguished by an energetic and not incapable adventurer named Wang Mang, who founded for a generation, or tried to found, a "spurious" dynasty of his own. Wang Mang's Generals were not particularly successful either with the Huns or in the Tarim Valley. One of them was defeated by what is now called Harashar—a kingdom then said to adjoin Kutchar on the east side—and he had perforce to fall back on Kutchar; but in A.D. 23 Wang Mang himself died, and that same General was over-

* The mere name of "Fat King" suggests Hiung-nu influence, for later on a "Fat Khan" of the Turks is specially mentioned, and Cervantes tells us in later times of this Turkish custom of appellation.

† As I have explained before, the Chinese word *hu* is as vague as our word "Tartar," and covers irregularly all Mongols, Turks, Persians, Hindoos, and "Tartars."

whelmed by a Turki combination when the news of the spurious Emperor's decease reached Kutchar. For nearly half a century after this the Turkestan region—in its broadest sense—was entirely isolated from China; there is no record at all of who lived or what took place, but there is, as we shall see, every reason to believe that the Yüeh-chi—*i.e.*, the Indo-Scyths, Ephthalites, or Abdals—vied with their old enemies, the Hiung-nu, or Huns, in drawing as much nutriment as they could from the milch-cows of the Tarim Valley, who, habituating themselves to this slavish attitude, from that day to this have been otiose and unwarlike. But meanwhile Yarkand was growing in power at the expense of the other Tarim Valley States, and in the year A.D. 46 she annexed Kutchar.

The Chinese historians consider that for sixty-five years Turkestan was entirely cut off from relations with China—that is, from A.D. 8 to A.D. 73. It was the mission sent by the Emperor of China in A.D. 62 to find out more about the "Western divinity, Buddha,"* that brought back such interesting accounts of the Ephthalites. The same Emperor resolved in the year 73 to capture Hami—then called Iwulu—from the Hiung-nu, and thus open up a better road to the West. This Emperor died, however, in A.D. 75, and the Chinese proconsular hosts were immediately afterwards overwhelmed by the joint efforts of Harashar—then called Yen-k'i—and Kutchar. The Yarkand conquest of Kutchar had meanwhile been short-lived. Dissatisfied with the Yarkand administrative arrangements, the Kutchar nobles threw themselves under Hiung-nu protection, and these nomads set up one of them as a puppet King of their own;† but they and Kutchar combined were unable to extinguish Yarkand, which feat was, notwithstanding, independently achieved by Khotan. Still, Khotan herself, having been

* See "Chinese Buddhism" in the October number of this *Review* for 1902.

† It is significant that this King's personal name is written in the same way as the Chinese name for "India," so that perhaps he was a Hindu.

attacked in turn by the allies, was glad to come to terms and to send hostages to the nomads. When, in the year 75, the Chinese conquering General, Pan Ch'ao, who had been charged with the mission of "smashing the Huns," arrived in Kashgar, he found that State had already, in the year 73, succumbed to the power of Kutchar. Aksu and Utch-turfan* had also had Kutchar-appointed Kings imposed upon them. Kutchar must now have been quite the leading State in Turkestan, for we find that both the Ephthalites and the Wu-sun expressed their willingness in or about the year 78 to co-operate with China in the endeavour to reduce Kutchar. It appears, also, that there was a Kutchar page Prince at the Chinese Court, and that the Chinese idea was to despatch an armed mission to seat him upon his ancestral throne as a Chinese puppet. From this time onward for many centuries the Kings of the Kutchar Dynasty are always spoken of as though their family name were *Péh*, a word which is not only etymologically compatible with the Turkish word *beg*, but is so used in modern times.†

There was a saying early in the fifth century that "China had most men, the Roman Empire most valuables, and the Ephthalites most horses." This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that in the year A.D. 97 General Pan Ch'ao's lieutenant reached the Persian Gulf and first obtained precise intelligence (about the eastern part at least) of the Roman Empire; whilst Pan Ch'ao himself was the first

* M. Chavannes and M. Pelliot between them have done much to fix definitely the identity of these places. It seems now certain that the ancient *Ku-mésh* (Turkish *Kum*, "sand") is Aksu or *Pésh-hwan* (Edrisi's *Bákhwan*), whilst the ancient *Wán-suh* is Utch-turfan. Both cities have other names, Hindu and otherwise, but the proofs of identification are too long to give *in extenso* here.

† The word *pésh*, "white," was in the Chinese view the family name, but in the old Chinese this word is used sometimes for the analogous word *pésh*, a "count," or "paternal uncle." In modern Chinese this latter word, coupled with the final *K'íh* (standing for *k*, *ké*, or *gá*), phonetizes the Turkish word *beg*. It looks as though Hindu and Turkish influences were already rivals in these parts.

Chinese soldier to contest with the Ephthalites political influence over the Tarim Valley. It appears that in the year A.D. 86 Pan Ch'ao took advantage of the fact that the Ephthalite King and the King of Samarcand were related by marriage to obtain the good offices of the former in order to prevent the latter from thwarting Chinese policy in Kashgar. In the following year Pan Ch'ao, assisted by Khotan troops, marched against the King of Yarkand, who was on his part aided by a Kutchar army. In the end Yarkand had to submit, and the Kutchar troops withdrew. The Ephthalites now sent a present of lions to China, and demanded the hand of a Chinese Princess as a reward for having assisted the Emperor. This demand rather perturbed Pan Ch'ao's military council. However, he himself remained cool, pointing out to his lieutenants that as the Ephthalites had to cross the Onion Range in order to make their power felt, they could not carry much army supply with them, and would, sooner or later, be obliged to buy stores from Kutchar. As a matter of fact, he managed to intercept a flying column under their "assistant King" whilst conveying treasure to Kutchar in payment for the desired supplies, and the assistant Ephthalite King was only too glad to get safe back on terms agreed upon. This was in A.D. 90, and the next year Aksu and Kutchar both gave in their submission to China; Pan Ch'ao was created full High Commissioner, and made the city of Kutchar his headquarters; the page Prince, who was in the year 78 on the point of being escorted back, was now actually placed upon the Kutchar throne. From this time onwards until Pan Ch'ao's death, in the year A.D. 102, Kutchar city (or perhaps, rather, an as yet unidentified city in the Kutchar dominions called T'o-kan*) remained the Chinese proconsular centre.

In the year A.D. 106 we find the same King still reigning in Kutchar, which place, in accordance with the advice

* These two syllables probably represent a foreign sound, *Dokar* or *Dokan*, possibly even *Dogen*, as the second syllable possesses even now two distinct values.

of the Chinese Generals, he attempted to hold against the enemies of the Imperialists despite the warnings of his own officers. In the end these officers rebelled, and were joined in the revolt by Aksu and Utch. However, the rising was quelled, but not without great slaughter, by the Chinese. Notwithstanding this, the roads to the West were blocked, and Turkestan had to be abandoned once more, until the year A.D. 123, when a new King (probably son of the last) is mentioned as being coaxed over, together with Aksu and Utch. Thus, as the Chinese historian says: "Between the years A.D. 25 and 125 relations with Turkestan were thrice resumed and thrice broken off." In the year 127 an expedition under Pan Yung, son of Pan Ch'ao, was sent against Harashar, on which Kutchar, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan all thought it prudent to send submissive messages. In the year 170 China, assisted by Harashar, Kutchar, Turfan, etc., for some reason made an unsuccessful attack on Kashgar, which State ever since 114 had rivalled Khoten and Kutchar in power. The Chinese must also have been in Kutchar in the year 158, for M. Bonin in 1899 actually took a rubbing of an ancient stone in Kutchar giving an account of General Liu Ping-kwoh's doings there in that year (158). It is a fact that in that very year the Chinese severely defeated the Hiung-nu, and took their Khan, or *Jenaye*, a prisoner. But the After Han Dynasty (like the Earlier Han Dynasty, which reigned for two centuries before it) gradually fell into decline, and accordingly nothing more is heard of the Tarim Valley until A.D. 222, when China was already split up into three rival Empires—the Third Han Dynasty in the west, the Wu Dynasty in the then comparatively unknown southern half of China, and the Wei Dynasty, founded by the military adventurer Ts'ao Ts'ao, in the north—*i.e.*, in "Old China." In that year Khotan, Kutchar, and the Lob Nor State, lying between Lob Nor and Pidjan, all sent envoys with tribute offerings. From this time for two centuries "there are no proper records of what took place in any of the

western States, which devoured each other in turn as opportunity offered," and "Kutchar had no further communication with China." One very extraordinary circumstance must here be mentioned: whilst the After Han history devotes special chapters or paragraphs to all other Turkestan States, no chapter or paragraph is specially devoted to either Kutchar or Lob Nor, which were perhaps then officially considered part of China.

A complete change was working both in China and in Persia during this period of Tartar inroads. Buddhism had taken a firm hold in China, and had thence passed (fourth century) into Corea, and thence again gradually (fifth and sixth centuries) onwards into Japan. The North, or "Old China," was imperceptibly becoming a Tartar preserve, and the various Turko - Mongoloid - Tibetan Dynasties (which have since then practically ruled the North, with occasional breaks, up to our own day) were nearly all favourably disposed towards Buddhism. Persia, having got rid of the Parthians, was engaged in a secular struggle for pre-eminence with the Ephthalites, who were really responsible for the first introduction of Buddhism into China, and the Ephthalites were now distinctly getting the worst of it. In the year 285, when a purely Chinese dynasty—that of Tsin—had succeeded in reuniting the three rival dynasties under one sway (subject, however, to the blackmailing claims of successive Tartar "Emperors" ruling in the four northernmost provinces), the King of Kutchar did once send pages to the Imperial Court in token of homage. It was at about this time—and perhaps the cause of this mission to China—that the King of Harashar temporarily "extinguished" Kutchar, and set up his own son as King of that State.

The country was now distinctly Buddhist, and evidently great changes had taken place under Hindu influence. According to the non-Tartar Tsin Dynasty's history, "The capital city has three concentric walls, and inside it there are 1,000 Buddhist pagodas and temples. The

people make their livelihood by cultivation and rearing herds. Males and females all cut the hair and drop it on the neck. The King's palace is splendid and gorgeous, just like a god's housing. When the Empire was in decay, during the reigns of our two last Emperors,* Kutchar sent tribute of local products to Chang Ch'ung-hwa (349-353), and, during Fu Kien's reign (357-385) his General, Lî Kwang, who had just subdued Harashar, marched upon the place with a host of 70,000 men. Their King, Pêh Shun, defended his frontiers vigorously, and declined to surrender, finally escaping with his treasure; but Lî Kwang advanced, gave battle, and overcame the Kutchar forces, occupying the city and setting the King's brother on the vacant throne."

All this is particularly interesting. Chang Ch'ung-hwa was fourth in succession of a petty dynasty which set up at Tun-hwang, the place where MM. Stein and Pelliot unearthed their 20,000 or 30,000 documents about two years ago. Fu Kien was one of the Tangut or Tibetan "Emperors" at Si-an Fu, who was for a time so powerful that he even aimed at the conquest of China. It was under the auspices of Yao Hing (another Tibetan "Emperor" reigning at the same place) that the celebrated monk, Fah Hien (whose travels have been translated into English by Dr. Legge) set out for his famous journey through Turkestan, Afghanistan, and India, touching at Ceylon and Java. A native of Kutchar named Kumâradjlva was made Yao Hing's Grand Vizier in A.D. 405. He is a well-known character in Chinese history, and his mother, who migrated to India, was a native of Kashgar. She took him to India, and encouraged him to convert

* From 290 to 313, after which the "Western Tsin" Dynasty of Ho-nan Fu and Si-an Fu (as they are now called), driven over the Yangtse by the Tartars, reigned at Nanking as the "Eastern Tsin." From this date North China has rarely been free from direct Tartar rule—or at least from indirect Tartar influence—for long at a time. It is interesting to observe how the Indo-Buddhist Tibetan conquests of 700-800 were preceded by the Pamir-Buddhist Tibetan conquests of 300-400.

China. It will be noticed that the Kutchar Kings still bore the ancient "surname" of *Péh* (or *Beg*?). One of the Chinese histories, superciliously referring to this matter—*i.e.*, to the Tibetan conquest of mere Turks—contemptuously says: "This is merely an affair of barbarian against barbarian, and does not touch China's real interests." Lü Kwang, a Tibetan 8 feet in height, afterwards, in 395, himself set up as "Emperor" of Liang State—*i.e.*, of Tun-hwang. His son and successor, Lü Lung, capitulated to Yao Hing's rising power.

There is one very puzzling feature about the tribal transmutations during these two centuries of Chinese ignorance which has never yet been satisfactorily explained. A powerful Turkoid race, eponymously called *Hwah* or *Hwuh*,* apparently a second edition of the *Yüeh-chü*, or Ephthalites (being those who did not follow the main body, but remained behind in 230 B.C.), developed great strength along the whole line from Persia to Kutchar, making frequent war on Persia. Now, also, first comes into use, in connection with them, the word *Yeh-ta* (Eptal or Abdal), or rather, perhaps, in connection with both the old *Yüeh-chü* and with the new *Hwah*, who are stated to have first been subject to the Jwe-jwe† (masters of the Turks), and then to the Turks themselves. The origin of the powerful Ephthalite Empire, both as to its earlier edition of 200 B.C. and its later edition of A.D. 400, is not more obscure than that of the Sien-pi Tartars of 100 B.C. and the Toba Tartars of A.D. 300-500, who belonged to the same Mongoloid race, whatever that race was, and the latter of whom ruled the northern half of China for more than two centuries. During the period 435-439 the petty Kings of Turkestan, including Kutchar, first sent tribute

* See my account of the Ephthalites in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1902.

† See my account of the Avars in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902. The Jwe-jwe, or Jwan-jwan, were *not* the Avars, as Gibbon,—following Deguignes—Chavannes,—apparently following Deguignes, too—and others have supposed.

offerings to this northern power. In 448 war was declared against Kutchar, and then there were five tribute missions up to 479, with presents of camels, large horses, and jewels. There was a gap until the 510, 518, and 522 missions, after which the Toba family disappeared from Imperial China. We are told in Toba history that, apart from certain discrepancies in the criminal law of the two States, the customs and trade products of Khotan and Kutchar were very similar. The tribute envoys of both countries found their way also (between the years 503 and 521) to the court of the strongly Buddhist southern and purely Chinese dynasty of Liang, reigning at modern Nanking. This Liang Dynasty also got some of its Buddhism by sea direct from India. The King of Kutchar is now described by a long polysyllabic name suggestive of decidedly Hindu origin.

According to the Toba Tartar history, the old *Pé* family of Kings were still reigning in Kutchar until the end of the fifth century. "From the King's head hangs a gaudy turban band; he sits on a lion throne* of gold. The city he lives in is five or six *li* in extent. The punishments are death for homicide, and chopping off one of the hands and feet for robbery. Land is taxed according to quality, but those possessing no land pay a poll-tax instead. Popular customs, marriages, funerals, and products, very much as in Harashar, except that the climate is warmer. The place produces fine felt, and is rich in copper, lead, iron, deer-skins, salt, sal ammoniac, hair mats, green orpiment, Tartar powder, benzoin, fine horses, humped cattle, etc. Three hundred *li* south of it there is a great river, running east, called the *Ki-shu*† River, which is in fact the Yellow River. It is over 600 *li* north [one account says north-west] to the Turkish

* These lion thrones were common to Kashgar and several of the Samarcand group of States.

† This dissyllable probably reproduces the word *Kash* in the combination *Yurung-Kash*, or Khotan River. As already explained, until Kublai Khan's time the Chinese imagined that the Tarim was the upper course of the Hwang Ho; *li* is still pronounced *kai* at Canton.

headquarters.* The most easterly military posts of Kutchar having made more than one thieving raid, the Emperor [423-452] commanded General Wan-tu Kwei to conduct a punitive force of 1,000 men against them. Kutchar replied by sending *U-kioh-mu-t'i* and other commanders to give battle, with 3,000 men. We put them to flight, cut off over 200 heads, and returned with great captures of horses and camels. The people of this country are generally lecherously inclined, and they have established a kind of woman market, thus collecting the young men's money for official uses. Peacocks are very common in the land, flying in flocks in the mountain valleys. People take, rear, and eat them, making them brood just like hens and ducks. They say the King has always 1,000 of them in his palace precincts." At this time Aksu and Utch were vassals of Kutchar.

The account goes on to describe a volcano in the mountains to the north-west, with a sort of pasty lava flowing out like treacle, and used as a medicine. This is particularly interesting, for the Yüeh-pan or Avars are stated to have had on their south frontier precisely such a volcano; and these same Avars are said to have been those of the Hiung-nu or Huns, who settled to the north of Kutchar because they were not strong enough to undergo the fatigue of a journey west when the Huns (A.D. 88) fled helter-skelter before the Chinese to the Caspian region. It is also particularly mentioned in Toba history that the Khan of the Avars still bore the ancient Hun Imperial title of *Jenuye*, which title, as I have several times pointed out, was, according to M. Henri Cordier, used by the Ghuz Turks as late as A.D. 1000. Kutchar sent tribute to the Imperial successors of the Toba Tartars, who were simply

* In the Kunges Valley. During the Toba Tartar rule, however, the word *Türk* was unknown. There are other indications in this history that events were occasionally recorded which had not yet occurred; other histories do the same, but usually by way of appendix, and not in this slovenly way.

successful military adventurers, of much the same Sien-pi stock as their masters, and one branch of whom subsequently assisted the Turks to establish their independence of the Jwe-jwe. The Turks meanwhile, acting beyond the sphere of China's influence, gave the last touches to the destruction of the Ephthalite Empire, and as we never once hear of the Yüeh-pan again, it is scarcely possible to doubt that they were driven westward by the Turks, and were the identical Avars whose rendition the Turks endeavoured to obtain from the Roman Emperor Justin at Constantinople.* The two rival Sien-pi Dynasties of North China were competing for Turkish favours, just as several of the European Powers are now competing for Turkish favours at Constantinople, which city has thus been in the Turkish eye for 1,350 years at least. In the year 561 the King of Kutchar despatched tribute envoys to the Tartar Emperor of North China, who had basely sacrificed the last of the Jwe-jwe to Turkish demands, and in 615, when the native Chinese dynasty of Sui had definitely extinguished all the Tartar houses and reunited China under one sway, Kutchar again sent tribute. At this time the King's name is given as *Pêh Su-ni-shê*,† which looks as though the old royal family had come to its rights once more—unless, indeed, we fall back upon the word *Beg*, applied to all dynasties. Dalobian, Khan of the Western Turks, who had relations with the Persian and Roman Empires, is distinctly stated in the Chinese histories to have included Kutchar in his sphere of influence. Meanwhile the short-lived Sui Dynasty was making efforts to visit the Roman Empire, as is most distinctly stated in the Chinese official histories.

We now come to the powerful T'ang Dynasty, which

* For the relations of the Turks with Persia and Constantinople, see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1903, and the papers on the Ephthalites and Avars cited above.

† *Sunishi* is elsewhere a Turkish tribal and also a personal name; possibly the "Beg Sunishi" is here meant.

ruled all China, North and South, for about 300 years; extended its influence over Nepaul, India, and Persia; conquered Corea; broke up the Turks as the Han Dynasty had seven centuries earlier broken up their ancestors, the Hiung-nu; and gave a broad-minded, hospitable reception to the Christian, Mussulman, and Manichæan religions alike. The "mandarin" dialect begins to form itself now, and in transliterating foreign names the Chinese scribes manifestly have in their minds sounds for Chinese characters which in many cases were not the sounds of the Han Dynasty. The sounds of the Han Dynasty had now migrated to Canton. The T'ang history describes Kutchar as being 1,000 *li* (333 miles) east and west, by 600 *li* north and south. This would give it the area of England and Wales. The land is suitable for the cultivation of hemp, wheat, and various kinds of rice, besides producing gold. The people were apt at music and singing. They were Buddhists, and wrote in *Hu* style, from side to side, instead of from above downwards, besides being acquainted with Brahman* (Hindu) arithmetic. It is unfortunate that we are not distinctly told whether the writing was from left to right (like Brahmi) or from right to left (like Kharoshthi).

The city where the Kings reside appears in Chinese dress as *I-lo-lu*, a name not yet in the least identified. To the north lay the White Mountains, or *A-kieh-t'ien* (probably = *Aktagh*), which was always smouldering. At the New Year a week was given up to horse, ram, and camel fights, the dearth or the plenty of coming harvests being augured from the results. Cotton, as yet scarcely known in China, is mentioned as one of the tissues in which the natives were skilled. The statement about Government brothels is here repeated, with the addition that the Khotan Government is stated to profit by similar traffic. In the year 618, when the founder of the T'ang Dynasty assumed the Imperial

* It is noteworthy that one of the Jwe-jwe Princes who took refuge with the Ephthalites was named Brahman, and that he gave three of his sisters in marriage to the Ephthalite King.

sway, the King sent envoys to China; but both this King and his son and successor have Turkish titles, if not personal names too, and twelve years later the State of Kutchar is explicitly said to be "vassal to the West Turks," whilst continuing his tribute homage to China; but in 644 it assisted Harashar (also under West Turkish influence) in resisting Chinese ambition. It was in the year 630 that the pilgrim Hsian Tsang visited the place, but he lays no stress on Turkish vassalage, describes their Buddhist ways in great detail, and makes it quite clear that in their writing and literature Indian influence was supreme. Some years after this a Northern * Turk in Chinese employ carried war into the country of the Western Turks, capturing Harashar and Kutchar on his way. The Chinese Generals came up to the King's forces at To-ho city.† The King fled west, and his capital was taken. The Chinese pursued him for 600 *li* (200 miles), and finally captured the city of *P'o-hwan*,‡ in which he had taken refuge; but the Prime Minister, Na-li, succeeded in escaping to the Western Turks, who speedily sent aid, and, in fact, killed the chief Chinese General. After a good deal more of sanguinary fighting, at last five great cities were taken by storm, and Chinese prestige was effectually asserted. The defeated King's brother (bearing the purely Turkish title of *Jabgu*) was set on the vacant throne, and an account of these achievements was carved on stone. So far as I can gather, this particular stone has not been discovered by MM. Stein, Pelliot, Bonin, or others; yet the event must have been of prime importance, for on receipt of the news the Chinese Emperor remarked, in the fulness of his joy, to the courtiers: "Joy is of several kinds. Children are delighted with mud castles and bamboo horses; women with orna-

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1903, and April, 1904, for papers on both divisions of Turks.

† Possibly this is the royal *T'o-k'an* city of A.D. 100 (p. 149); the Russian Staff maps mark a place called *To-ho-nai* south of Kutchar.

‡ M. Pelliot has shown this to be the *Bākhūn* of the Persian geographer Edrisi (A.D. 1150)—*i.e.*, Aksu, mentioned above (p. 148).

ments of gold, feathers, and silk; merchants with trade exchanges; high officers with promotion and emolument; Captains with victories; but Emperors and Kings delight in unifying the world under the emblems of peace: so now it is my turn to be overjoyed." And he freely passed round the wine to all.

The chief Kutchar prisoners were carried to the Chinese capital, pardoned, and given honorary rank. It was now that the residence of the Chinese High Commissioner at An-si was first definitely stationed at the Kutchar capital, which, with Kashgar, Khoten, and Tokmak,* henceforth formed the "Four Entrepôts" under his jurisdiction. The King's brother was confirmed on the throne as a vassal to China. It seems that he was still a member of the old *Péh* (? *Beg*) family, and the rest of his name, *Ho-li-pu Shih-pih*, must be Turkish. The two last syllables, *Shih-pi* (? *Sibir*), frequently occur in Turkish proper names. There were other revolts and squabbles before things settled quietly down. In fact, the High Commissioner had, after a two years' trial, finally to abandon, in 650, both the city of Kutchar and the care of the "Four Entrepôts," in consequence of the intrigues of the Western Turk Khan Holu; but in 658 he definitely took up his residence there. The Emperor sent envoys to inquire into the customs and products of all the States in the Far West; and one Hū King-tsung, of the Historiographers' Department, was ordered to write the *Si-yüeh T'u-chi*, or "Illustrated Account of Western Asia." Should the whole or any part of this original edition be found amongst the

* The Chinese call it *Sui-shêh*, by which, according to M. Chavannes, they mean the *Souf* River, or *Souf-ab*—a perfectly regular etymology, except that (as in the word *Jaegu*) the Chinese really meant the full Turkish words *Su-* or *Sou-jab*, thus imperfectly divided. There is likely to be confusion with the words "Four Entrepôts," which places varied from time to time; thus once Harashar was counted as one of them instead of Tokmak. In the same way the Commissionership (once at An-si) carried the place-name with it at times, according to shiftings; so that Kutchar was for a time actually called An-si; so was Turfan. Indeed, at some periods even Tun-hwang was the An-si centre.

20,000 or 30,000 Chinese works and documents secured by MM. Stein and Pelliot, it would indeed be a discovery of great value.

In 677 the Tibetans succeeded in forming an alliance with Tuchi, Khan of the West Turks, and the two made a joint raid upon An-si. Apparently by this is not meant Kutchar, but the original An-si, for in the year 670 the Tibetans had already taken possession of the Four Entrepôts. Still, their occupation could not have been very effective so early, for in 675 the King of Kutchar sent a silver basket and some horses as presents to China. However that may be, in 678 the Chinese relief force was utterly routed near Kokonor, and in that year the empire of the Tibetans may be said to have reached its acme. "Since the times of the Han and Wei Dynasties (200 B.C. to A.D. 200) there had been no people in the West so powerful; on the east they touched [what is now called] Sz Ch'wan; to the south they were neighbours with the Brahman [= Magadha and India generally]; and on the north they were on common boundaries with the Turks. Their empire extended over more than [the equivalent of] 3,000 miles." At this time Persia also bordered on "Brahman," and the Chinese General sent to rescue the Persian King Piruz (who had taken refuge from the conquering Arabs in the Turk-protected State of Tokhara), having advanced as far as Tokmak, succeeded by a stratagem in securing the person of the Turkish Khan Tuchi as well. Tokhara was then under a *Jabgu*—i.e., either a Turkish Prince or a native King bearing a Turkish title as a sign of vassaldom. Thus at this period there were really four first-class Powers in Asia, all the others having gone into solution. These great Powers were, in order of importance, China, Tibet, the Caliphate, and the Western Turks; but the Caliphate—though in intimate relations, friendly or warlike, with all the other three—like the Ephthalites, never succeeded in permanently crossing the Onion Range; nor did it succeed in imposing Islām there by force. In 692 the ambitious Empress known to history as Wu-hou despatched a Chinese

General and a royal Turk in Chinese employ to retake the Four Entrepôts from the Tibetans. In this enterprise they were successful. The Chinese High Commissioner was accordingly once more established at Kutchar, and this important centre was garrisoned by 30,000 men. In the year 717 the Four Entrepôts were threatened by Sulu, Khan of the Turgāsh Turks, who actually surrounded the Kutchar city of Bākhuân; but the Karluk Turks, having contested possession with Sulu, the Chinese Emperor decided to let them both cut each other's throats, and not to waste men and money on barbarians. In 735 the Turgāsh Turks again attacked the two High Commissioners (at Kutchar and Guchên), and at this date those high officers seem to have been moved elsewhere, if not removed altogether. Between 718 and 730 we read of two Kings of the *Pêh* (? *Beg*) of the family sending tribute to China; but after this the power of the Ouigour branch of the Turks seems to have been supreme in the Tarim Valley, and Kutchar became one of their protectorates, or, at least, was cut entirely off from intercourse with China, and was subjected to Ouigour exactions. It was about this time that the Chinese pilgrim Wu-k'ung visited the place twice (once in 751 and once in 790, or thereabouts, on his way to and from Kashmir and India). Although the Tibetans had for some years been in possession of all the country to the west of the Yellow River, yet the two Chinese High Commissioners at Kutchar and Guchên managed to hold out until 787, when the Tibetans became complete masters, and in 750 even pushed their conquests as far north as Pêh-t'ing (Guchên).

During the next 200 years nothing whatever is heard in China of Kutchar. The T'ang Dynasty had become eunuch-ridden, luxurious, and effeminate; the Ouigour Turks terrorized the feeble Chinese Government, and, amongst other things, patronized the Manichæans, on whose behalf they claimed the right to preach in China. It is curious to reflect that the Ephthalite Turks introduced Buddhism, the Turk-protected Oxus States introduced the

Persian religions and Christianity, and the Ouigour Turks Manichæism, into China—in fact, the horse-riding nomads, whilst remaining illiterate themselves, have been the chief link between the civilizations of Rome, Persia, and China. Various Northern Turk offshoots, which had not followed the main body westwards, now began to threaten China's independence, and a new Tartar power, known as Kitans,* or Cathayans, gradually established themselves as rivals of these Turks. During the period (907-960) known as the "Five Dynasty Times," when most of the ephemeral "Chinese" Dynasties were of Turkish origin, in several instances actually paying tribute to the Cathayans, nothing whatever is heard of Kutchur, and the Tarim Valley seems to have been an Ouigour preserve—so far, indeed, as it was not quite independent of any suzerain power at all. Various Ouigour Khans sent tribute to the short-lived Chinese Dynasties between 911 and 1050, apart from similar tribute sent to the Tartar Courts of North China. Among the fifty-nine States over which the Kitans claimed nominal supremacy or suzerainty were the Turks, Tibetans, Persians, Turks, Ouigours, Kirghiz, Khotan, Tanguts, Turfans, etc. (in nearly all cases purely shadowy); but there never once appears mention of Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, Utch, Kutchur, or Harashar, and even Khotan only paid occasional visits.

In the year 960 a native Chinese dynasty—that of Sung—once more reunited China under one sway; but throughout its 300 years of career this reigning family had to contend with the Kitans, Nitchêns, and Mongols successively in the North; also with the Tangut Empire in the North-West; until at last Genghis Khan and his successors absorbed the other three into their vast Empire.

* It is remarkable how little is known of the true ethnology of the Kitans, whom the Emperor K'ien-lung considered to be the ancestors of the present Solons, now mostly removed with the Sibos, or Sibê, to Ili. More or less connected with the Kitans were the *Sik*, or *Sip*, who may be the ancestors of the Sibê. The Manchus do not admit that the Solons are of true Manchu stock, nor do they consider the Sibê to be true Mongols.

In 966, when the first Sung Emperor found himself firmly established on the Imperial throne, a number of Chinese priests determined to visit the West in order to replenish China's stock of Buddhist books. Their objective was Pu-lu-sha (Peshawar) and at the same time Ka-shih-mi-lo (Kashmir). They proposed to travel* via Marco Polo's Campichu, Sacciu, Succiu, and Kamul, then still called by their old names of Kan Chou or Kam Chou, Sha Chou (= Tun-hwang), Suh Chou or Suk Chou, and I Chou. They were also to travel by way of Harashar, Kutchar, Khotan, and Karluk, only one of which places Marco mentions—*i.e.*, Cotan: hence it is almost certain that Marco Polo's kingdom of Pein—the description of which corresponds in position with Kutchar—must be that place, the original name of which seems to have been politically effaced for 600 or 700 years. Peshawar and Kashmir Marco Polo plainly mentions under the names of Pascia and Kesimur. Harashar and Kutchar in Marco Polo's time seemed to have both belonged to the domain of Bishbalig, or "Pentapolis"—*i.e.*, the "Five Cities" of the Ouigour Turk domain, which even during the Ming Dynasty, following that of the Mongols, is expressly stated to have included† both Kutchar and Harashar. Marco Polo's route was south of this, and his only indirect mention of it is under the head of "Great Turkey," or "Turkestan," and in connection with the war between Kaidu, Dua, and the Emperor Kublai. D'Anville's idea of the whereabouts of Pein certainly accords better with Kutchar than with Bai (an unimportant place much farther west), which some interpreters of Marco Polo's "Pein" have preferred; but so far it has been impossible, I believe, to identify the mysterious word "Pein" with anything approaching to certainty. The Karluk Turks, close kinsmen of the Ouigours, lay north-west of Bishbalig and north-east of

* Of course, it will be understood that all this was 300 years before Marco Polo's time.

† The exact words are "otherwise called Yen-k'i (= Harashar), otherwise called Kwei-tsz (= Kutchar).

Ili, and it seems that, as the so-called Boghra Khans, they were first responsible for the introduction of Islām into Kashgar about the tenth century; thence apparently Islām gradually spread over much of the Ouigour domain. But it is precisely at this time that China loses all touch with Turkestan, and consequently there is a serious hiatus in our available authorities for the development of Islām.

In 1010 and 1013 Ouigour Khans sent envoys to China from the State of Kutchar. These presented themselves at the Sung Imperial Court (then in the modern province of Ho Nan). In 1020 the "Khan of the Kutchar State" once more sent tribute envoys along with the envoys of another Ouigour Khan, who was reigning at Kan Chou (Campichu). The names of these envoys suggest that they were nearly always pure Chinese in Turkish employ. Between 1001 and 1096 there were thirteen other cases where Kutchar sent tribute, but the above three cases are the only ones where the rulers of Kutchar are distinctly described as Ouigours, and where details are given of the tribute articles—horses, saddles, fat-tailed sheep, jasper (which Marco Polo also says came from Pein), etc. At the same time, it must be added that the general description of the country indicates not only that the rulers at least were of Ouigour stock, but that the Buddhist religion was still prevalent in the State. Indeed, the last mission of 1096 brought a jade image of Buddha, and, moreover, the envoy's name was Turkish, and not Chinese. No Mussulman rulers would have stooped to "images" and Buddhist tenets for political purposes. The rulers of the State are stated to use the title of "Lion Kings," which term accords with the Turkish name-title of Arslan (=Lion) borne by many Ouigour and Turkish Khans or Kings—*e.g.*, the King of Kao-ch'ang (Karahodjo) bore it in the year 983. It is added that from Kutchar to the Tâzi (Arab, or perhaps Caliph country) it was sixty days' travel; so that if they did not know the Moslems themselves, the Ouigours must have known who the Moslem hierarchs were. The Sung Dynasty was now so harassed by the

Nüchên Tartars that it began to contemplate transferring its seat of empire to the Man-tsz (Polo's Manzi) region—that is, to New China, south of the Yangtse River, the inhabitants of which are (or were until a few years ago) still occasionally called *Man-tsz* or Nan Man (= Southern Heathen) by the haughty Manchu Tartar Generals in their proclamations. Consequently the Ouigours received from the Sung authorities a hint that in future they must be content “to conduct their barter” (for “tribute” was really such) on the Chinese frontiers—i.e., of modern Kan Suh, in its eastern parts.

The Kitans, or Cathayans, had very little to do with the West at all, but they had some marriage negotiations with Tâzi in 1020-1021, which fact probably accounts for the flight of some royal Kitans towards Arabia in 1124. The Tâzi had previously sent “tribute” to the Kitans, along with Persia, in 923-924. The Ouigours of Sha Chou, or Tun-hwang, and other places also sent tribute from time to time between 913 and 1089, but no mention whatever is made of Kutchar specifically; indeed, it does not appear that the Ouigours at this period recognized any supreme Khân, or made use of the topographical term Kutchar any more. Nor is that place once mentioned in the history of the Nüchên Tartars (Early Manchus), who drove out the Kitans from North China, and reigned for a century in their stead at Peking, until they themselves were ejected in turn by the Mongols. The Nüchêns, who received Ouigour tribute or other homage six times between 1127 and 1172, had even less to do with the West than the Kitans, one branch of which, as just stated, managed to found an Empire in Persia; and on its way thither, in 1122, availed itself for escort of the military services of its “former subjects,” the Ouigours. But the very name of Kutchar appears in no form whatever in either of the two Tartar histories, although, as we have seen, it appeared as a “going concern” in the southern or pure Chinese dynastic histories at least up to 1095, which is just about the date when the Kitans were beginning to give way to the Nüchêns. It

was during this obscure period that some of the Ouigours at least became Moslems; for when Yeli Tashih, the Kitan Prince (who desired to reach the country of the Tâzi, and, in fact, fled west by way of Samarcand to Persia), sought Ouigour assistance, he must have clearly distinguished them (Hwei-hê) from the Mussulman Seldjuk (Hwei-hwei) rulers at Samarcand, whom he met two years later. Yet it was precisely now that the curious confusion arose between Ouigour and Moslem, and it is probably also during this partial dispersal of the Tun-hwang and Kutchar Ouigour Khanates that most of the Buddhist documents unearthed by MM. Stein and Pelliot at the Thousand Buddha Grottos were concealed in their recently-discovered hiding-place. Apparently no Moslem documents were among those found at Kutchar and Tun-hwang, and hence we may presume the possibility that the Buddhist works were concealed at the Grotto partly in order to escape the iconoclastic fury of the Mussulman invaders.

The Mongol history never once mentions the name Kutchar by its old name of Kwei-tsz, but, as the late Dr. Bretschneider has shown, an old map of the year 1321 indicates among the cities forming the appanage of Tulai Timur two cities, K'u-ch'a and Wo-ch'ih, which occupy the sites of, and are manifestly intended for, Kutchar and Utch- (Turfan). The Ming history, as we have seen, only alludes retrospectively to the old Kwei-tsz and Yen-k'i as being then part of Bishbalig. Nothing is said of the religion of Bishbalig, but it is plain from the names of the rulers that there was an Arab dash about them, if, indeed, they were not more Arab than Turk.

The Manchus seem to have known next to nothing about Turkestan until the armies of the Emperor K'ien-lung, about 150 years ago, broke up the Kalmuck Empire and annexed the Tarim Valley. Since then the Mussulman rulers of the various Turkestan cities have been allowed a tolerably free hand in the administration of their own populations, subject, of course, to the supreme control and the general political direction of the Manchu Residents, and Kutchar has always been called K'u-ch'ê.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 10, 1911, when a paper was read by Mr. K. Vyasa Rao, B.A., on "A Statutory Royal Viceroy for India." The Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.L.E., C.V.O., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. S. A. H. Razavi, Mr. Jelal Shah, Mr. N. Singh, Mr. T. D. K. Rama, Mr. D. Appa Rao, Mr. B. Dube, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. R. N. Mudliar, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy, Colonel A. Masters, Mr. Khaja Ishmail, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. A. Hodge, Mr. James Ballangie, Miss Forrest, Mr. B. M. Sen, Mr. P. Mudukrishnaiya, Mr. R. N. Singh, Mr. H. Judd, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. M. Pal, Mr. A. Barker, Mons. Edmond Privat, Mr. A. H. Nahud, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seessodia, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Row, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the East India Association are fortunate in having secured as their lecturer this afternoon so well qualified a speaker as Mr. Vyasa Rao. Mr. Vyasa Rao comes from a family which has played an extensive and honourable part in the service of Government in India, and he himself is well qualified to deal with questions of interest to ourselves and his own people in India. He is a graduate of the Presidency College of Madras, where he graduated in History and Political Economy. He has taken a wide interest in matters of Imperial concern; he has written very largely in various periodicals in India, and he was the author of a very interesting article which appeared in a recent issue of the Educational Supplement to the *Times*. The subject of Mr. Vyasa Rao's lecture is "A Statutory Royal Viceroy for India." It is quite possible that is a subject to which many of you have not given any very deep thought or consideration. It is possible it is one which some of you may regard as, perhaps, not entirely practical at the present juncture; but the more, therefore, is it of interest to hear what Mr. Vyasa Rao has to say upon the subject; and I hope, when you have listened to what he has to say, every

one of you who feels an interest in this particular topic will give the meeting the advantage to be derived from the expression of your views upon it.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, any observations which I may make will be very brief in their nature. I think we are indebted to the lecturer for the novelty of the subject which he has put before us and for the originality of his views upon it. I agree entirely with him in what he says as to the appeal which Royalty makes to the imagination, more especially of Eastern peoples. We all remember the tremendous veneration which the peoples of India had for Queen Victoria, for King Edward, and which, I have no doubt whatsoever, they entertain in an equal degree for his present Majesty King George; but it must have occurred to the lecturer that there are practical difficulties in the way of the suggestion which he has put forward. He spoke of one of them himself in the course of his remarks. He pointed out that it might be impossible always to find a member of the Royal Family available for occupying this new position, and he went on to say that when it was found impossible to find a member of the Royal Family to occupy the post of Royal Viceroy of India, then the King should choose some person specially well qualified to take his place. When you have got as far as that, you have got dangerously near to the present position. It seems to me you would be setting up in India two gentlemen of practically equal status—namely, the Viceroy and the Governor-General—and I almost shudder to think, especially when I cast my eyes back and think of a certain controversy which took place not so very long ago between the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General, of the field of doubt and controversy that would be opened up between these two eminent people. What is to be the position of the Governor-General when you have appointed the Viceroy? As the lecturer has stated, there is no legal Viceroy; but the Governor-General is in effect Viceroy of India. He is the representative of His Majesty in that country. He keeps up the State necessary for the representative of His Majesty. He occupies what is, in fact, the King's Palace both at Simla and Calcutta. When you have introduced your new Viceroy, what is to become of the Governor-General? Are you going to banish him from his position at Simla and Calcutta? If not, are you going to build separate palaces for him? Are you going to have for him, as well as the Viceroy, the great staff which is inevitable at the present time? I confess it seems to me to be a question of very considerable practical difficulty.

The lecturer has referred to the fact that the Duke of Connaught was about to proceed, as Viceroy, to Canada; but the position of Canada and India in this respect is surely not entirely analogous. The Viceroy and Governor-General of Canada is not, in the same sense in which he is in India, the head of the Government there. Canada is, of course, a self-governing Colony. Canada has its own Government and its own Prime Minister, who would correspond more, on one side of his duties at any rate, with the present Governor-General of India. The case, therefore, is not an entirely analogous one. If we think over this matter, I do not think we can find a precedent for it in history. I speak entirely subject to

correction, for I have not had the time nor the opportunity to delve into the history of the past and to examine precedents ; but I very much doubt whether you will find in the whole course of the world's history a precedent for setting up in one part of an Empire two individuals, one in the character of Governor-General, and the other in the character of Viceroy. It seems to me, if that is the case, there probably are very serious practical difficulties in the way of the realization of Mr. Vyasa Rao's idea. Nevertheless, I hope he will not think that, in making these criticisms, I am in any way under-estimating the value of the subject which he has put before us for our discussion. It is questions of this kind that we want to have laid before us as members of an Association of this sort, in order that our minds may be drawn to the consideration of them ; that we may think over them, and discuss them ; and that after we have looked at them from every side, we may be able to come to some conclusion as to whether proposals of this kind, whatever they may be, are practicable ; and if they are practicable, whether they are in the best interests of the Empire of which we are all proud to be members. I hope there are members present here this afternoon who have been able to give more time and consideration to the subject than I have ; and I feel sure that we have one such member present in the person of my old friend, Sir John Rees. He is so well acquainted with all the details of administration in India, he knows so thoroughly all the conditions of administration and government there, and is so well qualified to give us an opinion upon the subject of this lecture, that I have the greatest pleasure in now calling upon him. (Loud applause.)

SIR J. D. REES said that, as Lord Ronaldshay took such a close interest in Indian affairs, they were very fortunate in having him as their chairman. He knew of no one who could occupy the chair with greater advantage to a society such as the East India Association, and he knew of no one who was more likely in the future to take an important and beneficial part in regard to Indian affairs. He agreed with the chairman that Mr. Vyasa Rao's proposal for many reasons was not practicable, because, even though India was such a very large continent, there was no room for His Excellency the Substance and His Royal Highness the Shadow. Still, he thought it was a most valuable paper, more particularly for the reason that there prevailed in this country ideas about India which were extraordinarily false and foolish. One of the most foolish was that gentlemen like Mr. Vyasa Rao—graduates of Universities all of them—belonged to the regiment of unrest. In the lecturer they had a conspicuous instance of a graduate who had received the highest education in British-Indian scholastic institutions, and after having lived subsequently for some time in this country, was filled with loyalty to the Crown. This was really the position of the majority of the graduates. He thought the difficulties of carrying out the lecturer's proposal would be even greater than the chairman had indicated. In fact, he was afraid it would be absolutely impossible to separate the offices of Viceroy and Governor-General, because all the functions of the Viceroy were those of the Governor-General. He did not know any functions, except those of a spectacular character, which appertained to the Governor only in his capacity as Viceroy. He could

not understand how anybody could take precedence of the Governor-General. Then, considering the proposal that the Royal Viceroy should complete the Honours List, at present persons were recommended to the King for honours by the Governor-General, because he knew them and they worked under him. Then he did not understand how it would be possible for the Viceroy to refer matters of importance to the decision of the British Cabinet; and, further, to be frank, he thought the less the British Cabinet had to do with the Government of India the better for India. The Secretary of State was the Cabinet, *qua* India, and was a person invested with the powers of the Cabinet in that behalf. He did not know how far the Secretary of State consulted the other members of the Cabinet, but on matters connected with India nobody who knew Lord Morley would suppose that he spent a great deal of his time in taking the opinion of other members of the Cabinet on matters for the decision of which he himself was responsible. The lecturer had indulged in a little bit of pleasantry when he said that India would be only too glad to meet the entire cost of the new Viceroyalty, but to derive from it the maximum benefit it would be necessary to meet the charges out of the revenues of the British Exchequer. The lecturer had rounded an awkward corner there with considerable skill. (Hear, hear.) So much so, that he hoped to find him engaged in future in some diplomatic mission. He did not think that India would care to pay for the substance and the shadow, and he could not imagine the British Exchequer paying the double bill. Gentlemen present who had been in Parliament would know that it was very unlikely. Then the lecturer had said that the Viceroy would be a constitutional link between the Indian Empire and its British Sovereignty; and he referred to the discussion which lately took place between Lord Morley and Mr. Chirol. The decision of matters connected with India was vested in the Governor-General in Council in India, and all matters decided by the Governor-General in Council were subject to revision by the Secretary of State in Council; and the only question that could arise was in the carrying out of what was really quite clear as a legal position. But it was a great question, to what extent it was wise of the Secretary of State, in or out of Council, to interfere with the Governor-General. There was, in fact, only just room for these two functionaries—namely, the Secretary of State and the Governor-General—and he did not see how they were going to find room for anybody else. He did not know whether there were any gentlemen in the room who were strong Radicals. If so, he would remind them that John Stuart Mill was a Radical and a philosopher, and he had said that there was the utmost danger in endeavouring to rule India by the British democracy. When they found gentlemen, going to India for three weeks, suggesting that the further intervention of the Labour Party would be for the benefit of India, it made him shudder lest in a moment of folly such suggestions might be taken into practical account. With regard to what the lecturer had said about the Princes of India, he quite agreed with what Mr. Vyasa Rao had said. He was perfectly certain, as one who had had the honour to be a British Resident, that it would be most acceptable to the Princes of India to be in immediate communica-

tion with a member of the Royal Family; but it was a counsel of perfection, and not of necessity, and it was a counsel of perfection which he believed none of them would see materialized. Then the lecturer had said that it would shock the natives to know that the Viceroy was a paid official. He agreed it might be rather a shock to the native, but about 299 millions out of 300 millions did not hear it at all, and consequently they would be spared the severe shock. The chairman had pointed out the difference between Canada and India, which made it impossible to use the analogy of one case for the purpose of the consideration of the problem raised in the other. He was sure they were all indebted to Mr. Vyasa Rao for his interesting lecture. (Applause.)

MR. KADERBHOY thought they were very much indebted to Mr. Vyasa Rao for the subject he had selected, and for the excellent views he had expressed on the subject. He thought a Royal Viceroy, if ever appointed, would carry with him an impassioned appeal to the Indian subjects that would go a long way to cement the feelings of loyalty between the rulers and the ruled. Everybody understood that it was not possible, for a ruling King to go to India once every two years; but, if it were possible, that would go a long way to create a bond of sympathy between the Government and the Indians. A Royal Viceroy, if ever appointed, would meet with a universal reception from Indians, and would also invigorate the spirit of harmony in working the Government machinery; but he felt the realization of the hope was far distant. He did not agree with Mr. Rao as to separating the office of the Viceroy from that of the Governor-General. Such a course was far-fetched and could not be carried out. There were difficulties in the way of appointing a Royal Viceroy for India, because, in the first place, as the chairman and Sir John Rees had already pointed out, there were very few Royal personages available. In conclusion, he hoped that Mr. Vyasa Rao's desire might be realized. (Applause.)

MR. DUBE thought Mr. Vyasa Rao had taken his stand on very inconsistent positions. It had been pointed out by the chairman and Sir John Rees that it was practically impossible to work the scheme the lecturer had suggested. It was not often that an Indian found himself in harmony with the remarks of Sir John Rees ("No! no!" "Why not?"); but he did agree with several of his criticisms. He did not think that Royalty was as popular at the present time as in the past. Mr. Vyasa Rao had said that the Princes would rather like to deal with a member of the Royal Family. Instead of pandering to the feelings of the native Princes, they must ask them to democratize their administration to the same extent as was done in England. He strongly felt that when the people in the United Kingdom and Ireland were really free, and the people in India were free in the same way as the Irish, the Welsh, and the Scotch, they would contribute to the growth of humanity, which was the result to which the British democracy was leading.

MR. LESLIE MOORE, with regard to what Mr. Dube had said as to the feelings of the people towards Royalty, maintained that Royalty was as popular as it ever was in the British Isles and throughout India. He failed to see how any sensible person living in Great Britain, and having

regard to the great reigns of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII., and his present Majesty, could think otherwise. He would like to offer some support to Mr. Vyasa Rao, whose able paper had been strongly criticized. The two foundations of Indian character were a sense of religion and a sense of loyalty. The two were intertwined. Loyalty, apart from the small body of lunatic anarchists, was widespread throughout India. But it did not attach itself to Britain, to the British Parliament, to the British House of Commons, or even to distinguished members of that House, such as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Keir Hardie, but to the person of the King Emperor, the ruling Sovereign. He therefore agreed with Mr. Vyasa Rao that if India could have a Royal Viceroy the bond of attachment between India and Britain would be strengthened. He, however, admitted that there was no room for a Viceroy and also for a Governor-General. One must disappear, and he suggested that the Governor-General should disappear. As they were aware, already the Government of India had been strengthened by support from outside, by the introduction of Indians into the Executive Council and the expansion of Legislative Councils. He thought that the administration of the government of India in the future would more and more fall into the hands of Indians, and more and more be influenced by the Legislative Councils. Why should not the supreme power in India rest in the present supreme Executive Council, increased by the addition of more members, both British and Indian? The Viceroy lately had withdrawn to some extent from taking the chair at the meetings of the Council, and such meetings were frequently presided over by the Vice-President. Why should not the Vice-President be President, and the Council do the work which was now done by the Governor-General in Council? Let the spectacular work be left to the Viceroy, who should maintain State, deal with the Indian Princes, give charters, and make proclamations. If that were done, there would be no reason why there should not be a Royal Viceroy, occupying much the same position (except for its greater dignity) as that held by the Governors-General of Canada and Australia.

MR. VYASA RAO, in reply, said that he was perfectly aware that a Constitution drafted on a sheet of paper scarcely grew into an institution; but his paper was not an attempt at Constitution-making. The proposal made in it was quite in keeping with the past development of the Indian Government. There was a time when they had in India only a Governor-General of Bengal; subsequently the Governor-General of Bengal became the Governor-General of India; again there came a time when the Governor-General of India became Viceroy and Governor-General of India. In the present conditions, what was needed was a Viceroy distinct from the Governor-General of India, and who would be the visible embodiment of the British Constitution, while the Governor-General carried on the actual administration of the country. As in the case of a physical organism, so in the case of a political Constitution higher development meant differentiation, and the course of evolution always required differentiation. His proposal was, therefore, quite in keeping with the process of evolution, far from being an attempt at Constitution-making.

. As regards the question of precedent, Mr. Vyasa Rao pointed out that the British Empire in India is an unprecedented fact in history, and in the government of such an Empire we had to fall back upon our own resources and create precedents. He did not draw any analogy between Canada and India when he urged the claims of India to have the Duke of Connaught as the first Royal Viceroy of India ; but all he meant was that Canada, being practically a plant of the parent stock, might forego an advantage which was bound to be of far greater consequences in the case of the Indian Empire.

As regards the observations in regard to monarchy, Mr. Vyasa Rao held that it plays an important part, although not visible, in securing the stability and permanence of a political Constitution. The history of republics and democracies, which have been tossed about in the corrupting waves of cliques and combines, and cabals and trusts, bore out the truth of this observation in regard to the value of monarchy in any political Constitution.

As regards the difficulty that a member of the Royal Family might not always be found, he referred to the fact that England herself had often to go to a collateral branch to find an occupant for the throne. Moreover, whenever a Royal personage could be had, it would be better than at present ; and whenever anybody else had to be appointed, it would not be worse than it was now. But the great thing was the separation of the two offices in such a manner that the representative of the British Constitution would not be as well the chief directing head of the actual administration of the country.

Concluding, he said, to his own mind, his position remained unshaken. It was not that he wished to play the rôle of a prophet, but he felt sure that the time was coming when India would require of England the best of her statesmanship and the best of her institutions, barring the actual presence of His Majesty in India. The bond between England and India had to be strengthened, and it could not be done until there was only an administrative machinery in India without a representative of the British Constitution in its essential aspects, and who stood apart from the actual administration of the country.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, May 16, 1911, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I. (in the chair), a paper on "The Architect in India" was read by John Begg, Esq., F.R.I.B.A. The following, among other ladies and gentlemen were present: the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Prince Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, the Rev. F. K. Aglionby, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. C. Sahay, Mr. S. K. P. Sinha, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy, Mr. Khaja Ishmail, Mr. Sydney D. Smith, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Begg, Mr. H. Pollen, Mr. and Mrs. N. Dodshaw, Mr. J. S. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. P. Blaise, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. H. H. James, Mr. J. A. Balfour, Mrs. White, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Sardar Shunden Singh, Mr. F. W. Barber, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. P. Mal, Mr. N. M. M. Bhowmaggree, Mr. P. H. Judge, Mr. F. W. Banks, Mr. J. D. Cama, Mr. K. C. Bannerjee, Mr. H. C. Dutt, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. B. B. Kanga, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Sessodia, Kumar Shri Chandradevji of Dharampure, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Khan Bahadur Rustom J. Vakil, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Statham, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that the few remarks he had to make he would reserve until the lecture had been heard.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think you will agree with me that we have heard an extremely interesting paper, and I should like to congratulate Mr. Begg on the great interest which he has aroused by it. Before proceeding to any further comments, I should like to say I entirely agree with him as to the great advantage which would ensue in India by the employment by the Government of India, and the Governments of the provinces, of trained professional architects in the work which is assigned to them. Mr. Begg has told us that, under the Bombay Government, he was the first, and that there are now seven others appointed, and he hopes

before long there will be eight. I feel confident he is one of those whom he describes as the right sort, and I agree with him that there should be similar representatives of his profession in all the other provinces. The paper seems to me, from one end to the other, to be so extremely suggestive that one is tempted almost to discuss nearly every paragraph in it—there are so many matters of interest which Mr. Begg has touched upon. The first thing I should like to mention is that one great limitation in the work, whether of the professional or the amateur architect, has not been mentioned by Mr. Begg, and that is the limitation of want of money. In the earlier days we all know that the Government had not got so much money to spend on buildings as they have had recently, and that has been one reason, I think, why the architectural line has not been so well developed as it might have been. For instance, if money is limited, it may be that the engineer, to call him by his accustomed name, who was erecting the building, could give very little more than the shell, or a sort of shell, to keep out the rain and the sun, and it is not until more money is available that we can go into the question of design and ornament; I certainly think that must be borne in mind when we look at the limitations of the past. As time went on the Government were in a position to give more money to these purposes. The railway companies—especially the larger ones—have long been able to do the same with regard to their terminal stations; and if, as a layman, I may here make a criticism, it would be that I could never make out why it is that behind the beautiful façades of the Terminal Railway Stations, they usually have what I should like to call glazed and glorified white-ants tunnels for the arrival and departure platforms of the trains; and as reference has been made to the beautiful Bombay Station, I may add that my recollection of those particular tunnels there was that they were remarkably low, close, and hot.

Now, Mr. Begg has mentioned that it is too often impossible to give effect to the architect's advice owing to the inadequate machinery for carrying it out. I should like to give you a little illustration—perhaps not of the sort he refers to—which occurred at the time Mr. Irwin was the architect there, when he was building the new High Court buildings in Madras. I saw that on some of the pillars there were medallions with elephants, and those elephants had hind-legs like horses, and I asked Mr. Irwin, "Why in the world do you give elephants with legs like horses?" His reply was, "Oh, you never know what those contractors will be after when you once get your eye off them!" And that is the only solution I got, and I believe those equine elephants are still there.

Then Mr. Begg refers to the great number of Chinese carpenters and smiths in Calcutta. I do not personally know anything about their work, but in Calcutta, and also in Rangoon, I noticed a very large number were employed, and I made inquiries as to why they were employed in both places instead of the local carpenters and smiths, and I was told pretty much the same as Mr. Begg says, that the Indian workmen in too many cases become past masters in the art of scamping, whereas the Chinese workman, although he will not give an hour or even five minutes more than the time agreed on, can be trusted to go on and do a solid, thorough, and

honest day's work by himself without any looking after, and that is the real secret why he is employed. I hope that the change Mr. Begg has already noticed in the Indian workmen who have been under his care will be developed, that we shall then be able to employ even very much larger numbers of them, and in that case the Chinaman will not be so necessary as he has been hitherto. (Hear, hear.)

Now we come to another matter, and I want, if I can, to get back to first principles, because it is quite impossible to go all through the different matters which have been suggested by this interesting paper. Mr. Begg says that the amateur architects in India—whether engineers, architects, or administrators—are seldom humble. Well, I think that an excess of humility may lead to lack of self-confidence, and even to paralysis in action. Who is likely to be the most successful man, or make the best of his life work—the man who is always afraid to do anything for fear of making a mistake, or the Scotsman who used the prayer, “May the Lord gie us a guid conceit of oursels”? I think more likely the latter than the former. But surely, if amateur architects or engineers are liable to make mistakes—I presume that is at the bottom of the criticism that they are not sufficiently humble—is it not possible that the professional architect may also make mistakes? I have in mind a building designed by an eminent architect, who had charge of the building arrangements himself, but he happened to be quite ignorant of the difficulty of laying foundations in an unfathomable delta deposit which was saturated with water, and the consequence was that the foundations of the building split and cracked before the superstructure was begun. That was merely a mistake, and anyone can make a mistake. Did not Napoleon say that the soldier who never made a mistake never won a battle? After all, making a mistake, however you may regard it, is not invariably fatal; the only thing is that it must be rectified if possible. Therefore, while I give all honour to the professional architects whom we now have in India—and I sincerely hope their number will be increased—I should like to give all honour to the amateur architects who have done so much in the past under very great difficulties on account of want of money, and, in addition to that, have had all their other work to do besides.

Mr. Begg acknowledges the debt due from Bombay to Mr. Stevens. Madras owes a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Chisholm, and if we could only get a dozen such amateurs as that artillery officer, Sir Swinton Jacob, or General Fuller, R.E., India would be very fortunate indeed. The work done by them was admirable, and Mr. Begg himself acknowledges that that has been so. Mr. Begg now excuses, or rather exempts, Mr. Stevens from his criticism, because he says he was a genius. But is not that begging the whole question? What have the amateurs done in the past? If I may say it, with all due reverence, amateurs founded the religions of the world; for instance, there was Prince Gautama in India, the humble carpenter of Palestine, and the camel-driver in Arabia. All the great poets have been amateurs, Shakespeare, Goethe, Burns, Tennyson. You may have a school of poetry and theology, but it does not follow that you will turn out actual poets, although you may turn out a large number of men

who can make admirable verses ; and, although you may have a school of architecture, it by no means follows that its members would have the genius of those architects who introduced the great styles of architecture that we have in the world. Now it is here that I find myself in deep agreement with Mr. Begg. He exempts the genius from criticism, but he says he wants to cultivate something which in one place he calls a *sense*, and in another place *inspiration*. After all, that is what is really wanted ; and he says that he looks for this inspiration to take the architect beyond mere figures and formularies. He looks for this inspiration, and has already found signs of it in the Indian assistants who have been under his control. There, again, I must say I am in entire agreement with him ; it was this inspiration which has really given the glory and the beauty to all great architectural works and buildings. We were all very much indebted to Mr. Chisholm for the way in which he gave us his interpretation, and his reading, of what I will call the "open secret" of the glory and the beauty of the Taj. Certainly, I never realized before what it meant ; but by sympathy and insight he entered into the spirit of the building, and was able to give one an idea of how its glory had been achieved.

If I might venture to modify or tamper with a quotation from Shakespeare, I would say that "as imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown (now comes my alteration), the *architect's pencil* turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

That is a high ideal for the architect, but I do not think Mr. Begg will quarrel with it, and I hope he will, for the sake of that, forgive me for any of the criticisms I have ventured to make. (Applause.)

MR. K. C. BANNERJEE, having thanked the lecturer for his instructive paper, said he desired to draw the serious attention of Indian students to the vast field presented by India for the profession of architecture. As regards the training of architectural students, however, he was of opinion that the training given by the Indian colleges was much too general, and therefore did not admit of much opportunity for specializing in any one particular branch. If he might make a comparison he would point out that whereas in England a student commenced to acquire his professional training under the guidance of a trained architect, his experience was that in India a student more often spent the best part of his time in studying at the University, thereby acquiring only a knowledge of many things which probably would be quite useless to him in his chosen profession. As a result of such a method he afterwards found it absolutely necessary to take some training from a practical engineer, for the purpose of studying the various technical matters connected with his profession, not the calculation of stresses and strains, and so on, which can be learnt at a college, which did not by any means make him a professional man. Another unfortunate feature he would like to point out was that the young Indian engineering student generally was very good at imitation, but had very little idea of originality and self-adaptability. Such training as the lecturer was suggesting would tend to bring to the front any such original characteristics. He therefore agreed with the lecturer as to the suggested appointment of specialists to go out to India for the purpose of assisting

in the training of Indian students, and the more eminent the specialists the better it would be for all concerned. Having regard to the enormous amount of money spent on buildings in India, he did not think they obtained altogether commensurate benefits—in fact, any professional man going out to India at once saw that many of their Indian buildings were by no means very desirable habitations, either from a health or an architectural point of view.

In the Public Works Department he thought they should have distinctive officers for each department, such as the architectural and engineering branches. There were undoubtedly many splendid opportunities in India, and students coming here to study in English would naturally soon find out that the professions alluded to would pay them well, and prove most suitable and successful professions to enter. They should go in for the subject thoroughly and utilize its many opportunities. That was his request to his countrymen.

LORD LAMINGTON expressed great pleasure in hearing Mr. Begg's paper, which he thought was a fair and honest survey of the difficulties experienced by an architect in India. The most noticeable difficulty alluded to was the absence of trained overseers, which could be remedied only by having schools of instruction for Indians in the principles of architecture. Surely it should be possible to import architects into India capable of putting up buildings suitable for the climate, and at the same time of pleasing architectural adornment; but the work was considerably hampered by the lack of trained supervisors, and that could only be remedied by providing means for education and training. Why could they not have distinct architectural schools, quite apart from the existing engineering schools, in order to take full advantage of that great wealth of material and opportunity to which the lecturer had alluded. It must be remembered that their first consideration was to have buildings adapted for the purposes in view, and appearances, therefore, to that extent must be regarded as secondary. As an illustration of what he meant he instanced the Law Courts in London, which he was given to understand were very incommodious and unsuitable for their purpose, and that at once put them out of his mind so far as the question of architectural beauty was concerned. Mr. Begg had quoted in his paper such splendid examples as the Victoria Terminus, Bombay, and the High Court. He would like to include also the Bombay Pagoda building, which, to his mind, more readily suggested the great Oriental style of architecture, and, so far as he was informed, was a building commodious and well designed, and quite suitable for the object in view, with no superfluous ornamentation and no meretricious attraction. Such ideas should be cultivated and impressed on the Indian mind. He trusted that the Government of India would before very long awaken to the necessity of developing that system, which had been commenced by Lord Curzon, of having trained architects in India, so that they might be given the desired opportunity of training young Indian students themselves in the same well-defined principles as they put into practice in their own life; that these latter might themselves have an opportunity of rising to the top of the tree, or at least of carrying

out the designs of their leaders and directors, and possibly of reviving the past glories of Indian architecture.

MR. FORREST said that he regretted his inability to say very much about the matter. Belonging to a prior generation, he was not very conversant with the present state of things in India. But as an instance of the very loose methods that prevailed in the past in India, he might say that, though he was in the Irrigation Department, on one occasion, on going back to India after furlough, he was temporarily put into what was called the Provincial Department, and whilst there he was called upon by the authorities to send in a design for a memorial church which it was proposed to build at Cawnpore. He promptly wrote back to say that, although he *could* produce designs for a church, he would suggest that here was a splendid opportunity for getting a really good church; and that one of the best architects of the day, a man who was in a position to throw his whole soul into the work, and who would be able to look for the right materials in order to produce the finest effects, should be selected to prepare designs. As a result he was promptly snubbed, and he was very glad when he went back to his own particular work, with which he was far better acquainted. With regard to the terminal railway stations referred to, they must remember that at that time there was a complete division between the work of the architect and that of the engineer, and the very natural result was shown in those stations; the same division had led to the production of so many ugly railway stations in England, too. Once in Rome the engineer, the bridge-builder, was often chosen as high priest! That was rather an admirable thing. Of course, they would agree that it was absurd to call on a man not engaged in such work to prepare designs for a church; such designs should only come from a man who had made proof of his capacity to prepare them. One speaker had remarked that our ordinary buildings were simply four walls and a roof, and he thought he was quite right in making that statement. But India had not passed under our sway village by village, but kingdom by kingdom. The buildings needed by our form of administration had to be provided in the great tracts of Oudh and the Punjab almost simultaneously. The main consideration with regard to these edifices, then, was not their architectural character, but their quick provision. But there was no such hurry now. Better materials could now be got; more money was available. The time had come for the calling in of the help of professional architects, who would bring their skill to bear on the designing of all buildings of the old sort, or of newer and finer ones. Of this sort should be the new scholastic buildings it is proposed to erect. Let these possess the combination to be found at the Taj Mahal—that of a beautiful building and a delightful garden-park: Here will the students live amidst refining influences, not amid degrading influences, as has been the case with too many attending the old colleges situated in cities and towns. Besides the provision of one or more architects of good training and natural capacity for each separate Government, the Supreme Government should have a consulting architect, one who holds a distinguished place in the ranks of English architects, a man who has given proof of high ability.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said that he entirely agreed with all that Mr. Forrest had said regarding the buildings of India being handed over to architects, and he hoped, therefore, he would not mind hearing one or two criticisms he had to make on the Public Works Department, which, by the way, he had sometimes heard referred to as the Public Waste Department. It seemed to him that that Department, in its building work, suffered from two main defects—*i.e.* (1) the extreme expense, and (2) the extreme hideousness of the buildings they erected. It certainly was not impossible to put up fine modern buildings in India. Mr. Begg had quoted as an instance the Victoria Terminus, Bombay, and the Lakshmi Vilas Palace in Baroda might also be mentioned; but there were many extraordinary contrasts between the productions of modern times and the works of the ancient architects. He well remembered two or three large buildings constructed by the Public Works Department for the Revenue and Judicial Departments, which had the appearance of great square boxes of stone, and which stood very ill in comparison with ancient buildings in the locality. In this connection he was glad that Lord Curzon had swept out the Augean stable, and had restored various time-worn edifices to their proper use. As regarded Mr. Begg's remarks about the colouring of Public Works Department buildings, which he said was sometimes actually left to the choice of the occupant. The choice was a very limited one, varying, as far as his experience went, from a skim-milk blue to a dirty white, or a repulsive yellow. He did not pretend to have any expert knowledge of architecture, and he would only repeat that from the point of view of a layman it would be well if the public buildings of the future were handed over to the care of the architect. Having relieved his soul on some of the shortcomings of the Public Works Department, he would like to say one thing in their favour, and that was that they had shown themselves highly successful in important works, such as railways, roads, and irrigation canals. In them lay their proper and congenial sphere of work.

MR. M. T. KADERBHOY said that he regretted that, although the lecture was a most interesting one, the lecturer had not devoted a page or two to the magnificent specimens of Moslem architecture still surviving in India, of which the most striking were the Taj Mahal at Agra and Akbar's tomb at Fatehpur, Sikrah. It was plain that the lecturer only expressed his views solely on official architecture in India, but this object, if contrasted with the Mogul architecture, would have proved much more interesting to the audience. The lecturer did, indeed, admit that in the matter of architecture the palm rested with the East, and it could not be denied that the Moslem school of thought was still capable of inspiring great architectural work throughout India in the days to come. It is admitted on all sides that buildings of Moslem architecture withstood the ravages of time and weather better, and were more durable than modern structures, and that the architect of the past understood the secret of erecting buildings which did not require annual or biennial repair.

In conclusion, Mr. Kaderbhoy expressed his gratification at the lecture and his best thanks to the lecturer.

THE REV. F. K. AGLIONBY said that he did not wish to disclaim the duty

that devolved upon him, but he might mention that, whilst in one sense he was on his native heath, in another he was as far removed as possible from the native heath of the lecturer, who had given them a very attractive sketch of modern architecture in India. He would like to say, in quoting the old Latin quotation, *Homo sum ; et nihil humanum a me alienum puto*, that it was very educating to a layman like himself on those matters to hear the subject treated as the lecturer had treated it, and he begged to congratulate him on the literary charm of his style. He felt quite sure that they were all exceedingly grateful to Mr. Begg for his illuminating, instructive, and delightful paper.

MR. D. N. REID said that as an amateur poet he would like to point out, as Sir William Jones said in that excellent poetry of his, that what constituted a State was not necessarily high-raised battlements, nor cities proud, but men, high-minded men, men who knew their duties. That was what India wanted in the present day. Certainly they also wanted buildings, and he would like to bring to their notice an excellent bungalow that belonged to his old friend Major J. J. Macleod, C.I.E., of the Light Horse. He suggested that was the kind of thing they ought to go in for more and more in India. He had been in business in the indigo industry, and he worked in a district called Saharan, where the river at the head of that district was 242 feet above sea-level; his factory was 222 feet above sea-level, and at the end of the Saharan district it was only 168 feet above sea-level. He felt certain that at some future period the river would get into that district, and if it did there would be a fearful catastrophe, and millions of people would perish. He took the liberty of suggesting that the indigo industry should be revived, and that the Government should, at the same time, take the precaution of erecting good, strong, suitable buildings, so as to form a refuge for the people in such an event.

MR. BEGG: Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very much for a patient hearing to what I am afraid must have been rather a dry paper. It was, of course, a great pleasure to me as well as an honour to prepare it, as I was very much interested in the subject—in fact, so much so that I was hardly able to gauge what the interest would be to others who are not professionals and not interested in the same manner. Of course, on such a wide subject I was quite prepared for a little adverse criticism, and I am very surprised there has not been more, because I did touch on points that were a little controversial. Sir Arundel Arundel did make one little criticism about my not having alluded to the want of money as a disability in India. I did not allude to that, because, you know, we architects will not admit that it is a disability. We deny that it costs more to erect a well-designed building than to erect a badly-designed one. After all, architecture does not consist of the trimmings that you put on, but of the conception and design of the whole building. I think that even in the old days, of which our chairman spoke, when money was a bit tight, the buildings erected then were quite costly enough, and there was a sufficient amount of money spent on them to have had them all well designed, if only there had been a few more expert architects in India in those days.

I will not detain you any longer, ladies and gentlemen, but again thank you for a very careful and patient hearing.

DR. J. POLLEN, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said Mr. Begg had most kindly and readily responded to the Council's invitation to read to them the suggested paper. He (the Hon. Secretary) had felt it was somewhat unfair to ask him to do so during his short term of holiday in England, but Mr. Begg had nobly responded, and they had listened to his delightful paper that evening with much edification. Although the lecturer had touched upon controversial matters, he had done so in such a gentle and considerate way that no one resented his criticisms in the least. He had certainly thrown a broad ray of light on the difficulty of architecture and architects in India. During his service Dr. Pollen had often wondered why officials in India were housed and "officed" in the extraordinary buildings raised for their accommodation, and why the "Public Works Department," to which a previous speaker had alluded, could not do something better, and give them something more artistic than shells with dirty white or washed-out blue walls to live in. But since hearing the lecture he was glad to say he began to understand what had been amiss. The trained architect had been absent! But at last the architect had arrived—in small numbers, it was true, but a few trained architects were better than none. Let them hope that the day would soon come when the small number of seven would be multiplied seventyfold—the architects in India be numbered not by seven, but by seventy times seven. He had the greatest pleasure in moving a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, and he hoped his friend, Sir Robert Fulton, would kindly second the motion. The vote was carried with applause.

On the motion of MR. BEGG, a vote of thanks was accorded to Sir Arundel Arundel for having kindly consented to preside over the meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RACE AND COLOUR PREJUDICE.

DEAR SIR,

As I was mainly responsible for inducing Miss Howsin to write a paper on a subject which I still think one of the most important that can engage our attention, and am also in no small measure responsible for the actual wording of the paper, because she seldom, if ever, refused to modify or withdraw any statement which to some of us seemed needlessly aggressive, I claim the right to say that, in my opinion, after hearing all the arguments against it, there is ample ground to justify her complaint of racial (or colour) prejudice on the part of a large number, if not the majority, of Englishmen connected with the East. Indeed, the existence of such prejudice can hardly seriously be denied by anyone at all acquainted with the facts.* The only question seems to be whether it is desirable to discuss such very ticklish subjects. As to this, I can only say for myself that, if cancer is diagnosed, I would cut it out, at all risks, and I would not blame the doctor too much if the disease turned out to be somewhat less serious than he fancied.

Referring to the Chairman's question as to the existence of "general race hatred and colour prejudice on the part of

* See the case of Dowd "Mahomed," as described in *Truth* for February 15 (p. 376).

the British race as against Indians," I do not find that Miss Howsin made any such general charge of hatred on either side, though it is true that conduct such as she describes is likely enough to end in actual hatred, as in the case of the young Indian referred to on pp. 358-359 of your April number, 1911. The truth is, we want better manners on *both* sides, as Dr. Pollen once said : it is more a question of manners than of anything else, and perhaps only applies to a limited class of Indians.

Yours truly,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

May 20, 1911.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

1. *The Call of the Snowy Hispar*, by WILLIAM HUNTER WORKMAN and FANNY BULLOCK WORKMAN. This record of the sixth expedition of two indefatigable mountaineers will be read by their *confrères* with much interest, and the uninitiated who read it blindly (like the present reviewer) can enjoy the beautiful illustrations and admire and wonder at the zeal which the authors showed in their magnificent feats of climbing and in overcoming every difficulty during their progress. Starting in May, 1907, from Gilgit, the chiefs of the expedition, with two surveyors, an Italian guide, three European porters, an ex-police officer of Calcutta, and many coolies, proceeded to explore the snowy glacial region of the Hispar, "attacking" it from the side of Gilgit and Nagar through a region "wild and savage to the last degree." They accomplished their design. They did wonderful ascents—beating Miss Peek in Peru in altitude—and obtained their heart's desire, examining glaciers and climbing great heights, in spite of the backwardness of their long-suffering transport coolies. They tell much of the extraordinary Karakorum glaciers, and their excellent observations are supplemented by a scientific appendix by Count Dr. Cesare Calciati and Dr. Mathias Koncza, two scientists who were recommended to them by Professor Brunhes of Fribourg as trained surveyors.

They are supported also by the admirable 113 illustrations, the majority of which show the wonders of the snowy Hispar region which Dr. and Mrs. Workman both know and love so well.—A. F. S.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON.

2. *The Awakening of India*, by J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is concerned to clear the reputation of the travelling M.P. from the stigma cast upon it by Kipling's mordant satire. But he makes a curious misquotation. Kipling wrote :

"Paget, M.P., was a liar, and a fluent liar therewith."*

Mr. Macdonald quotes the line as

"Pagett, M.P., was a liar, and affluent liar therewith."

"Affluent liar" is good ; we are sure that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald never intentionally misrepresents facts, but when he accuses the Government of the Punjab of persecuting the members of the society called the Arya Somaj he is either misinformed or simply mistaken. The members of the Arya Somaj are as free to air their opinions and to carry on their undertakings in Lahore as the Socialists and Suffragettes are in London. Some agitators who were prosecuted for sedition by the Government happened to be members of the Arya Somaj ; and hence it is true, and in our author's opinion regrettable, that many Anglo-Indians regard the society with suspicion. But it is not fair to say that its members are persecuted either by the Government or by Anglo-Indians in general.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, however, disarms criticism by the frank admission with which he commences the "Foreword" to his book. He writes : "I may be expected to apologize for this book. I paid but a brief visit to India,

* In later editions the original spelling of Paget has been altered to Padgett, probably to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of aristocratic Pagets. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald steers a middle course and writes the name Pagett.

and was called back by a General Election before I had completed my plan. Some of my opinions might therefore be revised on a more intimate acquaintance with the land, its people, and its government."

Farther on he says: "The first thing which one learns in India is to take it in bits." In his chapter entitled "Among the Rajputs" he quotes the saying attributed to a Rajput chieftain "that within a few hours of the British withdrawal from India there would not be a rupee or a virgin left in Bengal"—a significant warning to the sanguine believers in Indian nationalism. Yet further on the author frequently speaks of the Indian people as if they formed one nationality animated by the same national spirit. Such a consummation is still remote, although the whole trend of the policy of our Government has been in the direction of forming such an Indian nationality by centralizing the administration, by unifying the laws, by amalgamating the separate Presidency military establishments in one Indian Army, by assimilating the fiscal, judicial, and educational systems throughout India. This entire disregard of the wise Roman's maxim of "Divide et Impera" has been due, not to any fixed policy, but simply to administrative convenience, and partly, perhaps, to the natural desire of the members of the supreme Government to concentrate all power and patronage in their own hands. The Government has thus given material support to the natural movement towards a common nationality already inaugurated by the Pax Britannica, railways and telegraphs, and the newspaper press. Normans, Bretons, Basques, and Burgundians were at one epoch as distinct from each other as are Punjabis from Bengalis, or Rajputs from Mahrattas at the present day, yet they have now all become merged in one homogeneous French nation. True, it took some centuries to achieve this result, but the world moves more quickly nowadays.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's book is divided into three parts, or sections: the first is the Foreword, containing his

reasons for writing it and the impressions of his outward voyage; the second has ten chapters, containing the record of his tour through Northern India and his impressions of life in Bombay, Baroda, Simla, Lahore, Benares, etc., conveyed in lively and picturesque language in a journalistic style (some of these chapters were contributed as articles to the *Daily Chronicle*). The two last chapters on the Women of India are written by Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald.

The third section, in eight chapters, contains the author's opinions on the present conditions and future prospects of our Indian Empire, and is the most valuable part of the book. Though Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has had but a brief actual acquaintance with the life of India, he has studied the characters and ways of its natives at first hand, and knows more about them than many Englishmen who have spent their lives in the country. He has a broad sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the educated natives and a keen appreciation of their qualities and their defects; and his opinions are the more valuable because they are those of an outsider, untinged by official optimism, class prejudice, or racial antipathy. His views are sometimes coloured by party spirit, and he is not quite fair to Lord Curzon or to the official classes generally. He would have made an excellent Indian official himself had fortune turned his steps in that direction. His observations on the effects of our rule in India on Hindu society are well worth studying. He points out how in our zeal for progress we have entirely broken up the old village communal system which had lasted undisturbed throughout the Mogul Empire, and had survived all the wars and revolutions which continually changed the political situation in India. And he shows convincingly how unsuited our English legal and judicial system is to the character of the Indian peoples. We quote one characteristic passage:

"An attempt should be made to retrace some of our steps towards the methods of justice native to the soil

and the people. The power to appeal should be limited far more than it is; but, above all, arbitration courts of village elders should be established for certain civil cases, especially for land and property disputes. In the old days the village Panchayat was such a court. It was, indeed, the judicial organ of a petty republic. Early administrators like Sir Thomas Munro, who was Governor of Madras in 1819, tell that the native litigant who had a good case preferred to appeal to the Panchayat, but he who had a bad one sought the decision of a Collector."

It is not so easy to sympathize with his dissatisfaction with the economic changes which Western commercial and industrial methods have introduced into the life of India. He says: "Individual capitalism is proving itself to be even more destructive of the best that is in India—where its operations are alien to the civilization of the country—than it has proved to be in the West, where it has not been so alien. The ways of Western progress are not the ways of Eastern progress. It is simply absurd for us to look complacently on, and see the ancient methods of credit upset, the ancient protections from famine swept away, and the ancient balance and economy destroyed; and rejoice that through this ruin progress comes."

The moral of which would seem to be, not to saddle the natives of India with the political and economical methods which have been evolved among us by a totally different condition of society from that prevailing in India.

There are some remarkable omissions in Mr. Macdonald's survey of India. In his chapters on the Punjab he never makes mention of the Sikhs, who form the most important class of the population, and who were, until sixty years ago, the rulers of the country; nor does he once allude to the Native Army, which forms the most important link between the various Indian races and their English rulers. There is freer, fuller, and more cordial fellowship between the Briton and his Indian comrades in the army than there is in any branch of civil life.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is not satisfied with the tone of the Anglo-Indian Press or the attitude of the Anglo-Indian community towards our Aryan brethren ; but, after all, the Anglo-Indian is only the ordinary home Englishman transplanted into a different environment. Circumstances alter cases : the Labour Member in Great Britain wants to give our Indian fellow-subjects the full rights of a citizen ; the Labour Member in Australia denies him the rights of a human being.—F. H. T.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD. ; LONDON.

3. *The Broad Stone of Empire.* Problems of Crown Colony Administration, with Records of Personal Experience, in two volumes, by SIR CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G., with maps. In these two bulky volumes Sir Charles Bruce discusses all, or certainly most, of the problems connected with our Crown and other colonies as well as dependencies. How wide, varied, and extensive is the ground that he covers will be best seen by a brief outline of the various subjects that he has dealt with.

Commencing first with the Crown colonies, their agricultural, mineral, forest, and power resources, the adaptation of principles of British policy to administrative problems, he touches upon that most vital of all pending international questions—namely, international rivalry for the control of the tropics. From chapters ii. to iv. our national policy during the period 1815-1868 is not so much criticized as reviewed from various aspects—conditions of national life which determined the policy of the early Victorian era ; the social and political disorders of that era ; the various social and political reforms that were effected in law, religion, education, health, labour, and commerce ; the different stages of our colonial policy in North America, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the tropics. In chapter v. our Imperial policy in 1868 and after ; also the extension of the principles of our national policy into our colonial and

Imperial policy is carefully and thoughtfully considered. This he traces up to the bifurcation of the ways that lead respectively through the temperate zones and the tropics. These positions are well defined. The adhesion of the self-governing colonies in the temperate zones to the Empire is conditioned by their complete liberation from the control of the home Parliament. In the tropics, on the other hand, the adhesion of the Crown colonies to the Empire is conditioned by the maintenance of that control, for it is entirely on the efficiency of that control that their existence as civilized communities depends.

The author then shows us that it is out of these conditions rose the threefold interests on the adjustment of which the success of Crown colony administration depends. These are the interests of the British tax-payer, of capital invested in the colonies, and of labour of African and Asiatic origin. In chapters vi. and vii. he discusses the constitution and functions of the Colonial Office, and traces the evolution of the office of its responsible agent, the Colonial Governor. After devoting a chapter each to local government and law, the chapters dealing with labour and subject and coloured races discuss a variety of questions subsidiary to the general problem of providing the colonies with an appropriate population—*i.e.*, a population appropriate to its environment, adequate and not overcrowded. To secure such a population, Sir Charles Bruce is of opinion there is but one way—the transplantation of the redundant masses of overcrowded areas to areas where their services are urgently required. This, according to him, has long been recognized as one of the highest functions of civilization in the Crown colonies, as it is also getting to be more and more fully recognized in the self-governing colonies of the temperate zones. But he is also fully alive to the vital significance of the health problem, and in three long chapters he depicts the Imperial aspects of the study of health in the tropics, traces the history of the organization of agencies and methods to combat the diseases of men and animals,

and gives some account of the results secured. This concludes the first volume.

In the second volume education, religion, agriculture, forestry, trade, finance, transport, meteorology, Imperial communications, fiscal system, expansion, defence, and the Crown as a link of Empire, are all dealt with in turn, as side issues belonging to the central question. In a few words Sir Charles discusses the problem of bringing the results of modern civilization in the temperate zones to bear on the agencies of beneficial occupation in the tropics, political administration, industry, commerce, and finally the problem of securing life and property against foreign aggression. Our administration in these tropical dependencies is based, in fact—according to the author's point of view—on the understanding that there can in the long-run be no permanent divorce between the masses that produce and the class that administers the revenue. In other words, every immigrant must be a potential citizen. It is in relation to the vital importance of these colonies and dependencies to the Mother Country, it is with a view to arouse and encourage a thorough and (although Sir Charles Bruce does not say so he implies it) unbiassed study of their administration, that this work is a contribution—in the hope further that it may serve to quicken a conception of our Crown colonies, "not as isolated and unimportant adjuncts of our Imperial heritage, but as destined to play a very essential part in its development as a whole." Its main object, in his own words, is to show what the colonial Governments have done and are doing to develop the resources of the Crown colonies; to promote the physical, moral, and intellectual welfare of the people; and to make those colonies as essential to the Empire as the self-governing colonies. That he has done much to show this, that he has all through dealt with his subject in a broad and liberal spirit, is clear to anyone who reads his pages with an open and unbiassed mind. - It is true that Sir Charles writes as one who has been an official all his

life, and whose aspects, therefore, are those of officialdom. But there are officials and officials, and the author certainly represents that higher type of high-minded and conscientious rulers whose aim and object in life is the well-being of those committed to their charge. An Imperialist to the backbone, he is an Imperialist in the finest, highest, and most Imperial sense. Certainly as the records of his own personal experience—an experience that embraces his whole life—these two weighty volumes are of the greatest interest and instruction—interest and instruction that well repays the trouble of reading them.—A. G. L.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

4. *Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment*, by SIR BAMPFYLDE FULLER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. This book, by the ex-Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal, is more than a mere record of personal impressions; it is an exhaustive survey of the past fortunes and the present condition of India in its physical, intellectual, political, and commercial aspects. The first chapter treats of the climate and the rainfall; the second of the geography and geology of the land; the third of the ethnography of the races by which it is peopled; the fourth and fifth of its ancient and modern history respectively; while other chapters are devoted to the systems of government, of revenue, of law and police, of education; and others again to agriculture and commerce, to the causes and consequences of famine, and to the existing relations between the people and their rulers. The author's survey of Indian history is necessarily but a brief summary; and, indeed, no other method is available for the centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest, for the Hindus neither write nor read history, and all that we know of them in ancient times is derived from their sacred hymns and epic poems and from the accounts of Greek travellers and Chinese pilgrims. Politics, as well as history, were *taboo* to the Indian

mind until English teachers opened to it the portals of Western science; but Musalmans take a keen interest in both these subjects, and from the time of the inauguration of the Musalman Empire at Delhi by Kutb ud Din, in A.D. 1192, we have an unbroken record of events compiled by Moslem historians. Sir Bampfylde Fuller speaks of the lofty tower erected by that potentate as a "campanile," a curious epithet to apply to what was probably intended to be the minaret of a Musalman place of worship. Speaking of the period of Moslem rule, he says that "it is significant that no rebellion was attempted by the Hindus." But the warrior castes of the Hindus retreated before the Muhammadan invaders into Rajputana and Telingana; in the former region they preserved their independence practically throughout the whole time of the Musalman Empire, and the Mogul Emperors were only able to extort a reluctant tribute from them. After the capture and sack of Warangal the Hindu power was expelled from Telingana, but found a new centre far to the south, in the city and empire of Vijayanagar. Hardly had that kingdom been in its turn destroyed by the coalition of the five Musalman Kings of the Deccan, when Sivaji arose in Maharashtra to lead his Marhattas to victory, and the Sikhs began to bestir themselves in the Punjab. There was besides, in the reign of Aurangzib, a formidable revolt of the Hindus in Northern India, provoked by the bigotry of that Prince, who had reversed the conciliatory policy of his predecessors.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller is in error in enumerating the Germans among the European nations who established trading relations with India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He says: "The merchants from Holland and from Denmark yielded to the English, who succeeded in ejecting them from every foothold in the country. The Germans also gave place; but they have since recovered their position, and German merchants are numerous and influential in the mercantile communities of Bombay,

Calcutta, and Rangoon." The only position previously held by Germans in India was that of the Hanoverian soldiers in the British service, who fought for us against the French in the Carnatic.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller observes that four of the great religious systems that influence the character and the aspirations of the human race have been successively professed by the rulers who have presided over the destinies of India: Buddhism, Brahmanism, Islamism, and Christianity have in turn occupied the Imperial throne. He remarks how the growth of these religions has been modified by environment, and how they have conformed to the local colour of their physical surroundings.

Thus the Semitic religions, such as Judaism and Islamism, reflected the spirit of the desert; their sterile monotheism was hatched in the stony and sandy wastes of the peninsula of Sinat and the valley of Mecca. The beautiful scenery and bounteous harvests of Mediterranean regions were expressed in the gracious forms of Grecian mythology; while the terrors and violences of tropical Nature found their counterpart in the monstrosities of the Hindu Pantheon. He gives an interesting account of missionary work among the Khasis, a hill tribe of Assam, and the civilizing effects of Christianity upon them (pp. 171-182), and it is evidently to these aboriginal and hitherto barbarous races that the future of Indian Christianity belongs. It is curious to learn that the Buddhist influences from the neighbouring country of Burma have affected the Hinduism of Assam, and have led to the introduction of a monastic system there modelled on that obtaining among the Burmese, abbots presiding over celibate communities of mendicant brethren lodged in a monastery.

Sir Bampfylde writes from long experience and close observation of the scenes of Indian life and the phases of Indian sentiment; and he treats of the problems of Indian administration with clear insight and judicial moderation.

Of his own difference of opinion with the supreme Government, which led to his resignation of his high office, he says nothing; but subsequent events have justified his views and his actions on that occasion in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen. He has taken no cognizance of the connection of India with the problem of Imperial defence, nor has he at all alluded to the military strength and resources of the Empire and its feudatory States; but he has commented, with much detail, on the economic condition of industrial India, and has very clearly explained the effects which our introduction of Western political and commercial methods have had upon the habits and the fortunes of the people. But the breakdown of this old Socialistic system has been only partially due to the invasion of our modern methods; that system was already breaking down from its own dead weight. Our substitution of enterprise for custom and change for stagnation has not been altogether evil in its influence on Indian life. It is a strange paradox that the gospel of Socialism, which has been tried and failed in Asia, should now be preached in Europe as the panacea for all the ills that affect humanity. Sir Bampfylde Fuller thus sums up his survey of the decaying Hindu Socialistic systems of caste and the village community:

"The caste and the village protected society against the harassing activities of the State. They also limited the disturbance which could be caused by the enterprise or the ambition of individuals—by the aggressiveness, that is to say, of free competition. Each village, each caste, had a sphere of its own, which could not be invaded from the outside; each of them was sufficiently compact and homogeneous to be governed by rules and customs which effectually stifled competition amongst its members. Custom, not enterprise, regulated the apportionment of the land, the profession or trade of the individual, and the rates or remuneration of wages; the forces of Nature, as represented by competition, were regarded, not as

beneficial, but as injurious ; and it appeared that man was happiest and best when shut off from the struggling life of his environment, with his individuality strictly harnessed to the chariot of the commonwealth."

This pessimistic idea contrasts very strikingly with the profound trust in the benefits of free competition which, only a generation ago, guided the course of English politics. Alarmed by the misery and degradation of labour that is sweated or rejected by competitive industry, we have been changing our opinion ; and it may be said that the doctrines that were preached by Cobden and Herbert Spencer now survive only in Free Trade and Free Immigration. The pendulum has swung far in the opposite direction, and no one will now dispute the authority of the State to lay a moderating hand upon the power of those that are uppermost in the struggle for life. Indeed, the characteristic of the present day is a growing acceptance of Socialistic principles. Socialism is the negation of free competition, and the Hindu system may give us some idea of its fruits.

It is hard to fight against Nature. She might not break through the protecting circles of the caste and the village, but she attacked them insidiously from within. By an increase of population, for which there was no outlet, each compartment of society became congested with humanity. The practice of infanticide was a desperate effort for breathing space. Energy was stifled, and from the minute subdivision of the land and of its produce there resulted extreme poverty and hosts of unemployed. In India these are a legitimate burden upon the industry of their relations. It is no disgrace to live in idle dependence, and the weight of the incubus of family charity is to us as surprising as the cheerful resignation with which it is borne. You may devise a scheme which will regulate the distribution and the terms of employment, but your rules will not create employment as increasing multitudes demand it. You may limit the number of the rich, but the poor will be

as poor as ever—only more numerous than Nature intended them to be. And, worse still, the spirit of enterprise with which Nature has endowed us will not live in captivity. It takes flight, and custom lies upon the people

"With a weight,
Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life."

May we not then conclude that there is no fixed guiding star in social politics? There are, indeed, beacons marking dangerous rocks on either hand; but they show what to avoid, and give no clear direction for the setting of the compass. Scylla is the unhappiness of the individual; Charybdis is the decadence of the race. Between these perils the ship of State painfully labours, compelled by an adverse wind to tack first towards one danger then towards the other—to risk national decay by over-protection of the individual, to risk misery of individuals by over-deference to the strong. Statesmanship must then consist, not in a vain search for a principle and in devotion to it, but in knowledge of the moment when a change of course is necessary, and in ability to bring the ship round upon another tack."—F. H. T.

ROUTLEDGE AND SONS; CARTER LANE, LUDGATE
HILL, LONDON.

5. *Through Persia in Disguise*, by COLONEL CHARLES E. STEWART, C.B. This is an interesting book, but it has a rather misleading title. The journey through Persia in disguise was but a small part of Stewart's adventurous career, and though it enabled him to add to our geographical knowledge, it was not the most exciting or dangerous incident in his life. He adopted the disguise of an Armenian horse-dealer, not from any fear of the Persians or Turko-mans, but in order to prevent his being turned back by English or Russian officials. He called himself Khwāja Ibrāhīm, and, accompanied by two servants, travelled from near Ispahan to the north-east corner of Persia. He skirted

the great desert of the Kavir, and went via Tabbas, Turbat Haidari, and Mashhad (which he was careful not to enter) to Rādkān and the Daragez. At Muhammābād he stayed from November 25, 1880, to the middle of the following January. He rented a house there, and was given a shop in the bazaar, but never opened it. Some five times he heard the cry from the top of the mosque, "Turkomans, Turkomans, mount and away!" This was the order for the Governor's cavalry to proceed in hot haste in pursuit of bands of marauders who were carrying off slaves or cattle. It is gratifying to find that Colonel Stewart bears witness to the good done by Russia in checking the slave-trade and the forays of the Turkomans. He was much interested in finding traditions of the former existence of Christian churches in the Daragez, and speaks of several villages as having the word Kalīsā—that is, ecclesia—as part of their name. This agrees with what we read in the life of the great Sufi poet, Abū Sāid, who belongs to the tenth century A.D., and was born in Mehna, in the Daragez. Colonel Stewart did not go to this village, but passed near it. According to Abū Sāid's biographer, the saint once visited a Christian church in Merv, and by performing a miracle induced a number of the congregation to become Muḥammadans. Nadir Shah was born at Abivird, in the Daragez, and possibly it was recollections of his childhood that induced him to have the New Testament translated into Persian. Colonel Stewart gave an account of his journey in an address to the Royal Geographical Society in 1881, and this, and the map that accompanied it, have been reproduced in an Appendix to the book under review.

To an Anglo-Indian, and probably to most Englishmen, the most interesting part of the book is the account of Colonel Stewart's services in the Mutiny and in the Umbeyla campaign. He had some hairbreadth escapes. In 1866 he visited Baku, and in 1897 he and Dr. Cush gave an account to the Royal Asiatic Society of the Fire-temple that used to be there. This paper, and two of the

inscriptions, but not the Persian one, have been reproduced by Mr. Basil Stewart, the editor of the Colonel's diaries.

In 1869 Colonel Stewart returned to India via Syria and Bagdad. On this voyage he was accompanied by his wife, who was the first lady to come to Bagdad from Europe by land. Mrs. Stewart has written an Introduction, which contains some interesting details. From it we learn that Colonel Stewart was born in Ceylon in 1836, and that in Brighton he came under the influence of Hājī Bābā (Sir Robert Morier). Also that he went to the Red Sea in search of petroleum, and that he was one of the early advocates of the use of that fuel in men-of-war. But there was no end to his activities and sympathies. Among them were Central Asian Railway extension, the Cradley Heath chain-makers, and the Bible in Persia. His last appointment was that of Consul-General at Odessa. He was seven years there, and retired in 1899 after forty-five years' service. He died in December, 1904.—H. BEVERIDGE.

SEELEY AND CO., LTD.; 38, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
LONDON.

6. *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots: A Civil Servant's Recollections and Impressions of Thirty-seven Years of Work and Sport in the Central Provinces and Bengal*, by SIR ANDREW A. L. FRASER, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., LITT.D., ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. With thirty-three illustrations and a map.

It has become an established custom for retired Indian officials to provide the British public with a review of their careers and their experiences in our great Eastern Empire, and Sir Andrew Fraser has followed the example set by Sir Richard Temple, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, and many other civil and military "Pillars of the State."

This book is, however, more than a mere record of personal service: it is a valuable contribution to political literature, dealing, as it does, with most of the social and

economical problems which confront our Indian administration, and with many questions affecting the relations of our Government with the people of the country.

Sir Andrew's Indian service lasted over thirty-seven years. The first twenty-five were spent in the Central Provinces, of which he became eventually the Chief Commissioner. He was the head of two important Commissions appointed by the Government for inquiry into the questions of the regulation of the use of intoxicating drugs and the reorganization of the police services, and in the course of these inquiries he visited all the Provinces of the Empire, as well as most of the Native States of India. He served as Secretary to the Home Department in the supreme Government, and concluded his long and honourable career of public services as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The book cannot be called an autobiography. Sir Andrew Fraser has used his own career simply as a peg whereon to hang illustrations of life in the Imperial public services and discussions on the political and social questions of the day in India. The thirty-six chapters into which the volume is divided have their subjects indicated by headings among which are to be found the Police; Education; Christian Missions; the Partition of Bengal; Indian Unrest, its Causes and Limitations, etc. One chapter is devoted to an account of the author's intercourse with His Highness, Habibulla Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan, during the visit of the latter to Calcutta, when he was on several occasions the guest of the Lieutenant-Governor at Belvedere. His Highness was, by the way, accorded the title of "His Majesty" by the British Indian Government for the first time, though he himself has not assumed the style of royalty; for though the Afghans cheerfully accept and acknowledge an autocracy, they will not tolerate the title of King. The Amir seems to have made a most favourable impression on Sir Andrew, who is no bad judge of Oriental character. Other chapters treat of sport and travel and of the characteristics and idio-

syncretisms of the various native races, and there is one amusing chapter on "The Humours of Administration." The mistakes and misunderstandings which arise from mutual misapprehension between Asiatics and Europeans have their tragical as well as their comical aspects; the very measures which our administrators contrive for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the people often provoke their deepest resentment; and in our zeal for moral and material improvement we are apt to overlook the more imperative necessity of securing the people's goodwill. Sir Andrew Fraser with great justice says: "I have often thought that we do not know, or at all events do not fully consider, what grievous injury we inflict on the people of India by forcing on them customs and duties which are altogether inconsistent with their traditions and beliefs."

A cardinal instance of the mischief which may arise from injudicious acclimatization of European institutions in India may be observed in the liberty of the press, by which Lord Metcalfe and his colleagues, like Frankenstein, created a monster that was to prove a plague to their successors. Sir Andrew gives instances from his own experience of the blackmailing of respectable natives, which was the first use to which the vernacular press was put other than the dissemination of the advertisements of quack remedies among an ignorant and credulous people; but it was soon discovered that profits could be made by pandering to the prejudices and passions of the public as well as by plundering private persons, with results only too well known. It is not too much to say that but for the native press there would to-day be no sedition in India.

Sir Andrew Fraser's chapters on the Causes and the Significance of Indian Unrest are well worth study, but, unfortunately, want of space prevents us from further noticing them here. We must rest content with the following quotation, which may serve as a fair example of the spirit and the style of the book:

"There is at the present time in India an awakening from the slumber of centuries, the beginning of a new life. All parts of India, so far as education and association with the West have directly affected life, feel the unrest which comes from intellectual awakening and revival of national spirit. There is an effective demand, which cannot be refused, for the education, the industrial methods, and the civilization of the West to be applied in India on Indian lines. The peoples of non-Christian lands, and the peoples of India among them, are pressing forward to a place among the civilized nations of the world; and they will take that place. We have no right to complain of this. It is the result of our own policy. We have worked and striven for it. The best statesmanship of Britain has realized that India is not under our control, to be exploited for our own advantage, but to be educated and advanced in the interests of its multitudinous people. There are elements in the present unrest which we deplore—elements of anarchy and crime. But these are not to be accepted as characteristic of the whole. The intellectual unrest, the newly-awakened ambitions and aspirations, are what we ought to have anticipated, and ought to welcome."

The institution of a police force is another Western innovation which has proved rather a curse than a blessing to India. In civilized Europe the police are the protectors of the people; in uncivilized India they are their oppressors. In all Asiatic States until recently the civil administration was identical with, or was only a branch of, the military; the two were only separated from each other in the Turkish Empire by the reforms of Sultan Mahmud within the last hundred years.

In the Mogul Empire of India the Governor of one of the great provinces (*saba*) of the Empire was called the "Subadar," but the deputies who governed the districts under him had the official title of "Faujdar" (military chief), though they were commonly addressed by the honorific appellation of Nawab. And the system of the Moguls was

continued by their successors, the British Government of India. The main guards in our garrison towns were as much for the purpose of maintaining order among the civil population as for military duties; the gaols and civil treasuries were guarded by regular troops; sepoy guards escorted treasure from one civil station to another or to the presidency towns; detachments of troops from cantonments were made to outlying stations to preserve order among the civil population. The detection and repression of crime was left to the village watchman, who, however inefficient and untrustworthy he might be, was part of the social organization of the Indian village, and was responsible to the community. After the great mutiny of the Bengal Army many reasons induced the Government to relieve the Native Army of its share in police work, and to institute a system of a military police on the lines of the Royal Constabulary in Ireland or a Continental gendarmerie. The new force was military only in so far as it was partially armed and partially drilled; but it was wholly under the civil administration, and did not form part of the army as the gendarmerie does in a European State. The natural and obvious use of a little brief authority to an Oriental is the abuse of it, and the new police used their powers to prey upon the people whom they were intended to protect. The energies of the English superintendents were employed in repressing crime in the force rather than among the people. But even when a dog has a bad name Sir Andrew is unwilling to hang him, and he has something to say in praise as well as in blame of the Indian police. Owing to the reforms which he himself has been principally instrumental in bringing about, the conduct and conditions of the service have been much improved, and he is satisfied of its present and future efficiency and utility. His point of view on all matters of Indian administration is tinged with the natural optimism of a high official, increased by a characteristic tendency to look on the bright side of things. Lord Dalhousie saw only a cloudless horizon in the Indian land-

scape just before the outbreak of the Great Mutiny in 1857.

This cheerful optimism pervades Sir Andrew Fraser's survey of Christian mission work in India, and he pays a warm tribute to the good service rendered by the missionaries to the Government and the people, though he admits that there are some missionaries who may be described as being harmful as serpents and wise as doves.

It is difficult to share his optimistic view of the results of mission work in the past or its prospects in the future. After seventy years' labour, it has produced practically no effect upon either Hinduism or Islamism. Its converts have been made mostly from the outcaste or Pariah classes or from the aboriginal savages of the hills and jungles. It is a significant fact that in the official classification of the castes and races of the Indian Army Christians are ranked with Pariahs.

Christianity was originally an Asiatic religion; but the simple Gospel of Christ is presented to the Indian travestied in the trappings of Anglicanism, Catholicism, Presbyterianism, and other "isms" in which it has been clothed by successive generations of European theologians. Through centuries of development by Western ideas along European lines it has assumed a form as unsuited to the Oriental mind as the top-hat and frock-coat of the English gentleman are unsuited to the outward appearance of the Sikh or the Pathan. And the Hindu student, who has learned in our schools and colleges to ridicule the legends of the supernatural that he was accustomed to revere, is invited by the missionary to accept the old wives' fables and endless genealogies of the Hebrew Scriptures, and is expected to swallow the tales of Balaam's ass and Jonah's whale.

It is curious that in this book we find no allusion or reference to the Native Indian Army, which is at once the chief prop of, and the greatest danger to, our rule, and which must be the most potential factor in any political

movement among the Indian peoples. If there is no reference to soldiers in its pages, there is, at all events, frequent mention of officers, Sir Andrew using this word in its Anglo-Indian sense where an untravelled Englishman would say "official." Of course, the term "officer" may be used to denote the holder or bearer of any office, but convention has confined its general use in Europe to the naval and military services. A facile pen is as much a necessity to an Indian statesman's equipment as a fluent tongue is to that of his English colleague, and Sir Andrew's style and expression leave nothing to be desired, though one may regret that he should employ the Americanism of hesitancy to express hesitation. He has employed Indian terms with moderation, and has always given their English explanation or equivalent in notes, except in one instance, at page 102, where "sindur and tikulis" are mentioned without any information as to the nature and quality of such articles.

The volume is well illustrated with photographs of scenes and persons, some of them of more than ordinary merit; in some of the groups Sir Andrew and Lady Fraser figure, surrounded by their friends and guests. The typography is excellent, and there is a singular absence of misprints; only at page 138 is there is solitary specimen of Printer's Pie.—F. H. T.

7. *Seventeen Years Among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo*, by EDWIN H. GOMES, M.A. The writer of this instructive book knows his Dyaks thoroughly, and tells his readers all he can about them: their birth ceremonies, their religion—a nebulous one—their arts and civilization, their weapons, which include *the sumpitan*, and their funeral rites. The declining custom of head-hunting naturally occupies a large portion of the book, and some interesting accounts, charms and omens, and specimens of Dyak folk-lore (which include were-tigers) are given. The author deals mostly with the Dyaks who live on the coast of Sarawak, and mentions that the Land-Dyaks, although akin, have to some extent

distinct language and traditions. A Dyak vocabulary is given, and the book is charmingly illustrated, and makes us wish (with the Rev. John Perham, who contributes an Introduction) that the Sea-Dyaks may have a better worldly future before them than the author dares to hope for.—A. F. S.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; LONDON.

8. *Chota Nagpore*. Second Edition. By F. B. BRADLEY BIRT, I.C.S.* The author, in describing this "little-known province of the Empire," has added to his reputation for writing delightful books about Eastern lands. He has, in this second edition, brought his book up-to-date, for the railway has changed the old-worldness of the province a little since his work first came out, and the coalfields of Iherria are rapidly increasing. What little authentic history there is of the province he gives us, but more valuable than the history is the insight into the lives of the little-known tribes of Kols, Kherrias, Bihors, Hos, and Sontals, aboriginal or quasi-aboriginal races of whose conversion to Christianity the missionaries have well-founded aspirations. Mr. Bradley Birt has a marvellous manner of making (even without the help of the excellent illustrations) his readers see and realize the land he describes. He is at his best, perhaps, in his description of "The Crowning of a Raja," but all the book is delightful to read, and Lord Northbrook, in a short Introduction, bears witness to the correctness of his observation.—A. F. S.

CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

9. *Across the Roof of the World*, by LIEUTENANT P. T. ETHERTON, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. This is a far more interesting book of travel through mountainous country than the jaded reviewer generally finds under his hand. It calls itself

* See our review of the first edition in our October number, 1903, pp. 427-428.

"a plain record of a year's wanderings in the lesser-known parts of Central Asia, for the purposes of sport and travel," and it fully exceeds so modest a description. The traveller went on his journey by the well-known track past Gilgit to Yarkand and Kashgar; then across Chinese Turkestan to Kuchar and Kulja, through Dzungaria into Russian Siberia, over all the many mountain ranges and unfertile plains of these parts. He has a great deal to tell us about sport with the rapidly decreasing *Ovis poli*, and some interesting details about the little-known Yulduz Valley, the Kalmuk tribes in the vicinity, as well as their neighbours, the Kayaks, in the Thian Shan Mountains. In the latter he met with ibex and bears, and roedeer; and the Shikaris will read the chapters "After Wapiti and Ibex" with zeal. The writer went through many vicissitudes successfully; his relations with the Chinese and Russians were always, and with the various Tartar tribes generally, happy, when he passed through each territory successfully; and he has been able to give us a pleasing record of his journey in this large, well-illustrated volume.—A. F. S.

10. *Adventure, Sport, and Travel in the Tibetan Steppes*, by W. N. FERGUSSON, F.R.G.S. A melancholy interest attaches to this pleasingly illustrated book, as it embodies in it the last diaries of John Weston Brooke, Lieutenant 7th Hussars, who was an adventurous traveller, and who was murdered by the Lolos on December 24, 1908, during a journey with the author. Mr. Brooke's first Asiatic exploration was in Tibet in 1906, and then he got as far as Magehulla on the way to Lhasa, where he was forced to turn back. In 1908 he, with Mr. Meares, began another expedition from Hankow, and during this expedition they were joined by the author. This expedition proceeded to Chenlū and Wenchuan, little known districts of Se Chuan, and on to Wassu, where the leaders hunted and shot serow, goral, panyang, and budorcas, animals one is glad to hear more of. The Damtung country was also visited, and many portions of the *terra incognita* of South-West China, the

travellers, as usual, being hospitably received by the European missionaries in their settlements, and exploring much new country. Although the geography of this part of the book is a little difficult to follow, owing to the unfamiliar ground, the description of the localities over which the writers traversed, which included "two gold streams," the land of the Mantze—a happy people—and that part of Western China where caves with terracotta figures reminding one of early Japanese work are found, are worth perusal. The most interesting description, however, is that of the land of the Independent Lolos, that curious people in whose country Mr. Brooke met his death. From what the writer says, the Lolos seem worthy of a better fate than being made *pukka* Chinese or exterminated; and perhaps the missionary successes of which he speaks may give their destiny another turn.—A. F. S.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The India Office List for 1911 (London: Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall). This admirably compiled list for this year comprises the usual lists of officers serving in India, the names of the members of the enlarged legislative councils, index of subjects and appointments, and much useful information, valuable as well to libraries as to Anglo-Indians and others interested in Indian affairs.

Indian Unrest, by VALENTINE CHIROL; a reprint revised and enlarged from the *Times*, with an introduction by Sir Alfred Lyall (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.). This work is now so famous and referred to in our pages by so many of our contributors that any criticism by us would be superfluous.

Hebrew Glosses and Notes, by MARCO (MORDECAI) LUZZATTO (1720-1799), occurring in his Italian translation of Menasseh Ben Israel's "Conciliator," now collected and edited for the first time* (from the unique MS. in the editor's possession), with an English translation and notes by Hermann Gollancz, M.A., D.LITT., Rabbi (London: Luzac and Co.; New York: Block Publishing Company). The title of this small volume speaks for itself, and the translation of the well-known Rabbi may be relied upon as correct and excellent.

William Thomson (Lord Kelvin); His Way of Teaching Natural Philosophy, by DAVID WILSON (Glasgow: John Smith and Sons (Glasgow), Limited). This sketch of the celebrated scientist will be of little use to the general

public, but may be of interest to students of natural philosophy.

The Garos, by MAJOR A. PLAYFAIR, I.A., Deputy-Commissioner, Eastern Bengal and Assam, with an introduction by SIR J. BAMPFYLDE FULLER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam), with illustrations and maps (London: David Nutt, 57, 59, Long Acre). This is a very interesting record of the general characteristics, customs, and language of the Garo tribe, little known to the outside world, who, though living in the midst of a civilized province, have remained beyond foreign influence in a remarkable degree.

Strange Siberia: along the Trans-Siberian Railway, by MARCUS LORENZO TAFT (New York: Eaton and Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham). This little volume deals with a journey from the Great Wall of China to the sky-scrapers of Manhattan. It is well written and profusely illustrated, and will be found very interesting by the general reader.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Cambridge University Press has undertaken the publication of *The Dīwān of Dhul'r-Rammah*. The work will include the Arabic text and Arabic commentary, edited from MSS. in the India Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere, with critical and other notes, glossary, and indexes by C. H. H. MACARTNEY, late scholar of Clare College, Cambridge.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Con-

duit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1911 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Cheikh Ahmed Lahcaki*, par A. L. M. Nicolas, Consul de France à Tauris (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner);—*The Allahabad and Nagpur Congress, Conferences, and Conventions*. A collection of the Presidential Addresses published by Natesan and Co., Madras;—*Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1909-10* (Bombay: Government Central Press);—*Resolution reviewing the Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1909-10* (Bombay: Government Central Press);—“Forward, but not too Fast”: *The Governance of Empire*, by Dudley S. A. Cosby;—*Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Epigraphia Zeylanica*, being Lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon, edited and translated by Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe, Hon. M.A. (Oxon) (London: Published for the Government of Ceylon by Henry Frowde, Oxford, University Press);—*Le Monde, Encyclopédie Mensuelle illustrée*;—*Anthologie des Revues de Tous les Pays*, June 1, 1911; *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vols. i., ii., iii. (Bombay: Printed at the Times Press, 1910).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *The New Spirit in Egypt*, by H. Hamilton Fyfe (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons); *A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations* (Arabic and Persian), by Claud Field, M.A. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited); *An Eastern Miscellany*, by the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons); *The Economic*

Transition in India, by Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.I.E. (London: John Murray);—*Urdū Reader for Military Students*, by Major F. R. H. Chapman (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son); *Eastern Asia: A History*, by Ian C. Hannah, M.A. (London: T. Fisher Unwin); *An Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism, with the Life of Mahomet*, by Dr. Henry Stubbe, M.A. (London: Luzac and Co.); *Among the Tribes in South-West China*, by Samuel R. Clarke (London: China Inland Mission, Morgan and Scott, Limited); *The English Factories in India, 1634-1636*, by William Foster (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Numerous preparations are being made in India for the visit of the King and Queen for the purpose of attending the Delhi Durbar on December 12 next. About eleven or twelve thousand Imperial Service Troops will attend the Durbar. All the States maintaining troops, transports, etc., will be represented.

The following Indian chiefs, among others, have arrived in London for the Coronation of King George V. :

Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Madho Rao Scindhia Bahadur, of Gwalior, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., LL.D., Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and party. Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, of Idar, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and party. Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, of Kuch Behar, G.C.I.E., C.B., Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty the King-Emperor; Her Highness the Maharani Saheba, of Kuch Behar, C.I., and party. Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, of Bikaner, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty the King-Emperor and party. His Highness Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Bahadur, of Baroda, G.C.S.I.; Her Highness the Maharani Saheba, of Baroda, C.I., and party. His Highness Maharaja-dhiraja Tukaji Rao Holkar Bahadur, of Indore; Her Highness the Maharani Saheba, of Indore, and party. Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam,

of Bhopal, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.; Colonel Sahibzada Obaidulla Khan, Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency the Viceroy, and party. His Highness Maharaja Summair Singh, of Jodhpur. His Highness Maharaja-dhiraja Bhupindar Singh Bahadur, of Patiala, and party. His Highness Thakor Saheb Sir Waghji Ravaji, of Morvi, G.C.I.E., and party. His Highness Thakor Saheb Sir Bhagwatsinhji Sagramji, of Gondal, G.C.I.E., M.D., LL.D.; Her Highness the Rani Saheba, of Gondal, C.I., and party. His Highness Maharana Shri Chhatrasinhji Gambhir Singhji, of Rajpipla, and party. His Highness Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondiman Bahadur, of Pudukota. His Highness Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, Agha Khan, G.C.I.E. Raja Dhiraj Sir Naharsingh, of Shahpura, K.C.I.E., and Rajkumar Sardarsingh, of Shahpura. The Tikka Saheb, of Nabha, and the Tikka Saheba, of Nabha. Nawabzada Mir Ali Nawaz Khan, of Khairpur. Rajkumar Mahajitsingh, of Kapurthala; Rajkumar Amarjitsingh, of Kapurthala; and Rajkumar Karamjitsingh, of Kapurthala. Shrimant Sadashiva Rao Khase Saheb Puar, of Dewas. The Honourable the Raja of Kanika. Rajkumar Jaswant Rikh, of Tajpur. Sirdar Charanjit Singh, of Kapurthala. Sahibzada Nasir Ali Khan, of Rampur. Sirdar Durshan Singh, of Vahali. The Nawabzada of Dacca. The Honourable Malik Umar Hyat Khan, C.I.E., Tiwana of the Shahpur District. Sardar Narayan Rao Bolia Saheb, of Indore. Sirdar Balbir Singh, of Hyderabad. Raja Naushaad Ali Khan, Talukdar in Oudh. Kumar Shri Lakhuba, of Jamnagar.

The Government of Bengal have arranged to subscribe for 25,000 copies of a weekly vernacular newspaper to be published by Rai Narendra Nath Sen Bahadur, for distribution to Nanchayats, educational institutions, and Government offices. The Government of Bombay have arranged to subscribe for 10,000 copies of a weekly Marathi newspaper, called *Jagod Oritta*, for a period of five years. The United Provinces Government subscribe for 300 copies of a vernacular newspaper, called the *Independent*, for dis-

tribution to tahsils, thanas, and schools. It is published in Urdu. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam are making arrangements to subscribe for 10,000 copies of a weekly vernacular newspaper, which will be in Bengali, but its name is not yet settled. The grounds for subsidizing vernacular newspapers is that in England all shades of opinion are expressed in newspapers conducted by private enterprise, whilst in India this is not the case. Amongst the journals in the vernacular, upon which the greater part of the population has to depend for their information, the views of the Government meet with but slender support. It has therefore been considered desirable to place the views of Government within reach of those who study the local Press of this country, in order that they may be in a position to judge for themselves as to the validity of the criticisms directed by the local journals against the views and actions of the Government.

The total population of India, according to the census of March 10 last, is 315,001,000, or an increase of 7 per cent. over the last census. To this total British territory contributes 244,172,371, or an addition of 5·4 per cent.; and the Native States and Agencies nearly 71,000,000, or an increase of over 12 per cent. The relatively greater increase in the Native States is partly due to the fact that the decade was one of recovery from famine, by which many of the Native States had suffered severely—far more so than in British territory—and partly owing to the sparse population.

The Viceroy has become a patron of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, in succession to Lord Minto.

The Lucknow Medical College will be opened to students on October 15.

Under the Emigration Act passed last year, emigration to Natal from India shall cease to be lawful from July 1, 1911.

H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore has given a grant

of Rs. 500 towards the International Rubber Exhibition Fund of the United Provinces, and through the Malabar Coast Planters' Association the Government of Cochin have contributed Rs. 300 to the same fund.

Sanction has been given for the construction of a branch line of railway to serve certain coal properties lying between the Borachuck branch of the East Indian Railway and the Sanctoria branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Sanctoria coalfields.

The railways in India show gratifying results for the last year's working, which ended on March 31 last. The increase in the gross earnings, as compared with those of 1909-10, is equal to £1,768,000.

The scheme for the introduction of deferred telegrams at the rate of one shilling per word—half the present rate—is well advanced between England and India. There only remains the side-issue of the rates with Ceylon. The minimum number of words will be six (including address), and codification will not be allowed. The telegrams will be liable to a delay of twenty-four hours before taking their turn for transmission.

The foreign commerce of India during the financial year ending with March last surpassed all previous records, the imports of merchandise from abroad amounting in sterling to £86,239,000, and the exports of Indian products to £136,586,000, making a total of £222,825,000. These figures represent an improvement as compared with the preceding year of £8,201,000 in the imports from foreign countries, and of £13,588,000 in the shipments of Indian goods. It is satisfactory to observe that the outlook appears to be favourable, and, with a good monsoon, the current year should be a period of unparalleled prosperity.

Appointments.—Mr. Justice Henry George Richards to be Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature for the Western Provinces of India in place of Sir John Stanley, retired. Mr. Edward Maynard des Champs Chamier, Judicial Commissioner in Oude, to be Judge of the same

High Court in place of Mr. Justice Henry George Richards.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—A proclamation has been issued by the Governor-General of India in Council constituting the new State of Benares from the Narganas of Bhadopi and Kera Mangraur, in the Benares Family Domains, but hitherto administered by the British Government, and the tract comprising the Fort of Ramnagar and its appurtenances. The proclamation establishes His Highness Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narain Singh, G.C.I.E., as a ruling Chief with full powers, subject to the suzerainty of the King-Emperor and to such restrictions and conditions as may be necessary for safeguarding to the residents of these territories the rights and privileges they have enjoyed under British administration. The Maharaja has been formally invested with governing powers, on the occasion of which he made a speech expressing his deep gratitude to the Government for the restoration of territories his family lost just 115 years before.

Sir Pertab Singh, Maharaja of Idar, will be President of the Council of Regency during the minority of the young Maharaja, who will probably proceed to England shortly, and afterwards make an extended tour in Western countries for educational purposes.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—News received reports that the Chief of Kharan, which has been a troublesome State in British Baluchistan, was killed by his mutinous troops, who afterwards seized the fort and looted everything. The late Chief has raised difficulties about boundaries from time to time since his accession in 1909. The Nausherwani Chiefs of Kharan have always been very troublesome factors in Baluchistan politics. The State is a petty one and of minor concern when compared with Kalat, but its position to the south-west of Nushki and Chageh gives it a certain importance. The boundary question has always been the trouble in the past.

There was a sharp encounter on May 17 with the

Hathekel outlaws, who were concerned in an attack on Tumtum, near Bannu. The Deputy-Commissioner and Brigadier-General O'Donnell, commanding at Bannu, proceeded to the Hathekel village, and, after some fighting, captured Bai, a notorious outlaw, and his associates, and inflicted heavy damage on the villages.

CEYLON.—The Hon. Mr. A. G. Lascelles has been appointed Chief Justice of Ceylon in succession to the Hon. Sir Joseph Hutchinson, retired.

The total population of Ceylon, exclusive of the military and men employed in shipping, is 4,092,277—an increase of 526,323, or 14·76 per cent. Inclusive of the above two categories, the population amounts to 4,095,325.

AFGHANISTAN.—On the occasion of the Id Durbar at Jellalabad in April, the Amir cut the first sod of the Daronta Canal, which is to be constructed during the course of the present year. This will bring a very large acreage under cultivation. The headmen and *raïses* of various tribes were in attendance, and they were specially interested in the question of *begar*, or forced labour. The Amir said it was a mistake to suppose that men would be impressed for work upon the new canals and roads that were being constructed, and it was matter for regret that some of the people in Ningrahar had left their villages owing to fear of impressment. He had issued strict orders that *begar* was to be abolished, and his officials would be held responsible for the carrying out of his instructions. Turning to tribal matters, the Amir promised certain reductions in the revenue assessments of the Khugiani tribe in return for their recent good behaviour.

PERSIA.—The British Consulate at Kermanshah was attacked by robbers. A man was killed and some money was stolen.

The new Governor-General of Fars has caused the arrest of the Karan family at Shiraz, thus causing annoyance to the Bakhtiari, and obliging Sardar Assad, their leader, to cancel his visit to Europe.

Mirza Mehdi Khan, Mushir-ul-Mulk, who has hitherto represented Persia in London in the capacity of Minister Resident, has been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James's.

PERSIAN GULF.—An expedition against the gun-runners was sanctioned, and left Bombay for the Mekran on April 7. The expedition, under the command of Admiral Slade, consisted of naval forces from the cruisers *Hyacinth* and *Fox* and men of the 104th Rifles, a section of a mountain battery, a detachment of sappers, a field ambulance, and the necessary supply transport. The force, 1,000 strong, landed at Sirik. On April 28 news was received that Barkat Khan, with a large following, had taken up a strong position at Pashak, twenty miles inland. The expedition advanced on this place, and a three hours' engagement took place. Barkat Khan fled, losing eight killed and several wounded. The British casualties were three wounded. The expedition then returned to Sirik, and re-embarked for Bombay, reaching that place on May 8. The object of the expedition was to put a stop to the illicit traffic in arms on the Biyaban coast.

ABYSSINIA.—Lidj Jeassu, the grandson of the Emperor Menelek and heir to the throne of Abyssinia, has been solemnly proclaimed Emperor. The coronation ceremony will take place later.

CHINA.—The opium agreement was signed at Peking on May 8 by Sir John Jordan and the Wai-wu-pu.

The British Government, recognizing the sincerity of the Chinese Government and its pronounced success in diminishing the production of opium in China during the last three years, agrees to continue the arrangement made in 1907 for the unexpired period of seven years under conditions some of which we give: That China shall diminish the production annually during the next seven years to the same proportion by which the annual export from India is diminished. The British Government agrees that the export from India shall cease in less than seven

years if proof is given that the production of native opium in China has completely ceased, and China may despatch an official to India to watch the opium sales and the packing of opium, but without power of interference.

Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Chinese Maritime Customs, has decided to resign his post. His successor will be Mr. Aglen, who has for the past year been Acting Inspector-General.

MANCHURIA.—Hsi Liang, Viceroy of Manchuria, has been permitted to retire, his health having been shaken owing to the strenuous way in which he has performed his duties during the recent epidemic. Chao Erh-hsün has been appointed his successor. This appointment has met with universal approval.

EGYPT: THE SUEZ CANAL.—The Administrative Council of the Suez Canal Company decided at its meeting on May 22 to submit to the general meeting of shareholders on June 12 a proposal to declare the total dividend of 1910 as follows: Per capital share, gross 171.308 frs., net 158 frs.; per drawn share (*action de jouissance*), gross 146.308 frs., net 134.447 frs.; per founders' share, gross 82.427 frs., net 76.459 frs. The Council further decided to announce its intention of reducing on January 1, 1912, the Canal tariff by 50 c. per ton, so that instead of 7.25 frs. it will be 6.75 frs. from that date.

CAPE COLONY.—The Report of the Select Committee which was appointed to examine the educational systems of the four provinces was laid on the table of the Union House of Assembly on May 17, together with a Minority Report by General Beyers. It agrees that the medium of instruction up to Standard IV. shall be the mother-tongue of the pupil, but that when Dutch and English are equally understood, the medium shall be at the option of the parent, and that after Standard IV. the medium shall be at the option of the parent, with the addition that after Standard IV. parents may choose the second language both as the medium and the subject of instruction. General

Beyers presented a Minority Report providing that both languages should be compulsory up to Standard V., after which the second language may be used as a medium of instruction at the option of the parents, and also suggesting that teachers should be compelled to learn both languages.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.—The election of members of the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia has been concluded during the quarter, and the complete returns are as follows: Northern Division, Mr. Francis Myburgh; Midland Division, Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Heyman; Western Division, Sir Charles P. Coghlan, Mr. G. S. W. Forbes, and Mr. George Mitchell. The new Council was opened on May 8 by Sir William Milton, Administrator of Southern Rhodesia.

A British and Belgian Commission has been appointed to proceed to delimit the frontier between Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo. The Portuguese Government has likewise appointed a Portuguese Commission, which will meet the British and Belgian Commission in order to demarcate the frontier between Rhodesia and the Portuguese Colony of Angola.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.—The railway from Baro to Kano has been completed during the quarter, considerably in advance of the contracted time. The railway has brought Kano within four days of the sea-coast, some 900 miles distant, and will do much to develop the country through which it runs.

CANADA.—Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Prime Minister, who is representing the Dominion of Canada, arrived in England on May 19 for the Coronation and the Imperial Conference. He was accompanied by two other Ministers—namely, Sir Frederick Borden and Mr. Brodeur, who, whilst in London, will take occasion to further the policy of co-ordination of method in land and sea defence policies of Canada and the Motherland.

An organization has been formed to raise a million

dollars (£200,000) for a national sanatorium for consumptives as a memorial to the late King Edward.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Colonel Eardley Maitland (Indian Mutiny 1857-58);—Colonel Anthony Durand (Central Indian campaign 1858, Abyssinian campaign 1868, Southern Afghanistan 1880);—Vice-Admiral F. F. Fegen (Eastern Soudan 1884, Burma war 1885-87);—Major-General George Harrington Hawes, C.B. (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Crimea 1854);—Colonel Robert Arthur Browne (Isaxai expedition 1892, Waziristan 1894, South Africa);—Colonel John Elliott, C.B., C.M.G., R.M.L.I. (China war 1842, Burmese war 1852, Crimea);—Major Arthur Frederick Tyrrell, R.A.M.C. (South African war, North-West Frontier Province 1897-98);—H.H. Maharaja-Ahiraaja Sir Sardar Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jodhpore;—Lieutenant-Colonel John T. Waddell Leslie, C.I.E., Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India;—Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke;—Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson Powell, M.D., R.A.M.C., Senior Medical Officer, Rangoon;—Major C. B. Chamley (Chitral 1895, South Africa);—Lieutenant-General Sir Oriel Viveash Tanner, K.C.B. (Southern Mahratta 1857-58, Afghan war 1878-80, Egypt 1882);—Major-General Frederick Ernest Appleyard (Burmese war 1852, Crimea, Afghan war 1878);—Colonel Sir G. M. J. Moore, K.C.I.E. (Military Secretary to the Governor of Madras 1884-86, President of the Madras Municipality 1886-1902);—Captain Gideon C. Sconce (served in the Indian Navy in the Persian Gulf 1856, China war 1860);—Surgeon-Major R. E. Wrofter (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny);—The Maharaja of Dholpore;—Right Hon. Sir Alfred Comyns Lyall, late of the Bengal Civil Service;—Major-General F. Beauchamp (North-West Frontier of India 1860, Afghan war 1879-80);—Lieutenant-Colonel Edmund Palmer (Indian Mutiny);—John Samuel Slater, for many years Principal of the Civil Engineering College, Sibpore, near Calcutta;—Colonel I. C. Walker, formerly of the Indian Staff Corps;—Colonel William Lowndes Randall, late of the Indian Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Howarth (Perak expedition 1875-76, Zulu campaign 1879);—Rev. John G. Garrett, for thirty years Church Missionary in Ceylon;—Major-General T. S. Warden, late Bombay Staff Corps (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Persian Expeditionary Force 1856-57, and in 1858 with Brigadier Parke's column in pursuit of the rebels under Tautra Topee);—Major-General R. H. Bolton, late Madras Staff Corps;—Major W. B. Hickie, of the Indian Army;—Captain C. P. C. F. Field, 108th Regiment, Indian Army;—James George Henry Glass, C.I.E.;—Surgeon-General William Burns Beatson, of the Indian Medical Service;—Justice H. L. Bell, chief Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court;—Robert William Mansfield, C.M.G., late British Consul-General at Canton;—Charles Henry Buchanan Forbes, for over thirty years Consul for Siam in Bombay;—Lieutenant-Colonel

I. B. Lyon, late of the Indian Medical Service ;—Major Edgar William McKenzie Ballantyne, of the 27th Light Cavalry, Indian Army ;—Edward William Ravenscroft, late of the Bombay Civil Service ;—Hon. Henry Leeson Bell, Officiating Judge of the Chief Court, Lower Burma ;—Colonel I. Campbell Walker, late Inspector-General Mysore Woods and Forests ;—Admiral Rodney M. Lloyd, C.B. (China war, first Soudan campaign) ;—Sir Edward Bradford, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., G.C.V.O. ; Lieutenant-Colonel George Wentworth Forbes (Zulu war 1879, South African war 1900-1901) ;—Major H. R. S. Maitland (North-West Frontier of India 1897-98, South African war) ;—Major N. E. Chesney, late Indian Army ;—Dr. Syed Ali Bilgrami, an eminent and versatile Indian scholar, and stepbrother of Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I. ;—Sir Charles Alfred Elliott, K.C.S.I., LL.D., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal ;—General Edward Dandridge, of the Indian Army ;—Deputy Surgeon-General W. P. Partridge (Persian expedition 1856-57, Indian Mutiny, and Abyssinian expedition 1867-68) ;—Colonel William Lisle Blenkinsopp Coulson (Malta, Canada, Ceylon, and India) ;—Colin George Campbell, C.B., Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India ;—Colonel F. H. Oldfield, Burmese expedition 1888-89, Ponkhan and Chin-Lusahi expeditions) ;—Colonel Edward Bruce, C.E. (Afghan war 1879-80).

June 12, 1911.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1911.

THE MOSLEM UNIVERSITY.*

BY M. T. KADERBHOY

(Hon. Secretary, London All-India Moslem League).

I HAVE endeavoured in this paper to give you such facts as concern the latest, and, I may add, the greatest, Moslem movement. I am, of course, alluding to the Moslem University, a project which every true Mahommedan who cherishes the glorious traditions of the past and desires to gain whatever ground he may have lost since will not fail to uphold. Nor will this great movement fail to enlist the sympathy of those Englishmen who know India and have her interests at heart. We Indian Mahommedans, who are proud to be British subjects, feel confident that we shall meet with sufficient encouragement from the British public in carrying out this our greatest and noblest educational scheme.

To us this great scheme conveys nothing really new; in fact, it can hardly be called a new feature of the educational system, except that it will be the means of giving us those opportunities of higher progress, advancement and learning for which we have long been waiting. The idea of a Moslem University is the direct result of the Aligarh College. This great scheme was conceived and prepared

* For discussion on this paper see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan,* one of the most illustrious members of our community, and has been closely studied by every thoughtful Mahomedan. This idea was recalled to mind by Lord MacDonnel, then in charge of the United Provinces Government, and Lord Lytton himself had hinted at it on the historic foundation day.

Since then this great idea has been constantly kept before our minds by Moslem journalism, which has shown indefatigable zeal in never tiring of harping upon this one supreme string time after time. At last it was taken up by the greatest leader of our community, His Highness the Aga Khan, who set a practical example to the whole community by his generous donation of £10,000 towards the funds required for this gigantic scheme. That first step taken, a meeting of the leading citizens of the Jaora town was held under the presidency of Captain His Highness Fakhurddowla Nawab Saulat Jang, who, in the presence of a large Moslem and non-Moslem audience, delivered the following speech :

"Gentlemen, my object in inviting you here to-day is to explain to you a national duty that philanthropists have undertaken in other parts of the country, and whose accomplishment rests chiefly on your magnanimity of spirit and devotion to your country. You are undoubtedly aware that His Most Gracious Majesty King-Emperor George V. (may his rule be long and prosperous !) has been pleased to announce his coronation in India. Since the advent of British rule, this is the first occasion in the annals of the British Empire when the Emperor will be crowned on the Indian soil, and it is but natural, therefore, that we should give a practical demonstration of feelings of loyalty and attachment to the British Crown. At present the Mahomedans of India, numbering seven crores (70,000,000), who, following in the canons of their religion, have been sacredly loyal to the British Government, have, I am glad to say, resolved to give practical shape to the long-cherished

* This one name will always remain a household name in every Mahomedan home in India.

aspiration of the establishment of a Mahomedan University, under the able guidance and leadership of His Highness Sir Aga Khan, whose indefatigable energy and admirable zeal in the regeneration of his countrymen is an object-lesson for us. Notwithstanding the laudable efforts in the cause of progress, our nation is still backward compared with other civilized communities in India. This mishap has befallen us as we began our educational work on modern lines about a quarter of a century later than others. But it is a matter of congratulation that, though we have begun late, we are gaining ground rapidly. Summing up the needs of our community, our leaders have come to the conclusion that no institution in India can meet the multitude of our wants and aspirations till we have a University of our own. For the accomplishment of this Herculean task, a sum of thirty lakhs at least is required. The Moslem population in India is 70,000,000, and, if each person contributes a couple of pies out of his earnings for this useful purpose, the funds can easily be collected and the sinking ship of the nation can be safely steered out of the reefs and pitfalls that have hitherto impeded its progress.

"Our national history affords us thousands of examples of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation in the early era of Islam. His Highness Sir Aga Khan, who is a true lover of his people, has taken upon himself the task of leading deputations to most important parts of India, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Lucknow, Karachee and Rampur, etc., while the less important parts of the country he has left to the stewardship of other liberal volunteers. The accomplishment of this stupendous task depends upon the co-operation of the whole community, and I trust, therefore, that all Mussulmans will spare no pains on their part to contribute to the fund, as the spirit of magnanimity and generosity which still pervades the thoughts, words and actions of every Mussulman is the distinguished characteristics of Islam."

The stirring speech which His Highness delivered at

the Durbar Hall carried its own appeal, especially to the Mahommedan audience. Large sums of money were forthcoming on the spot, which were in due course followed by hundreds of other generous donations towards the fulfilment of this great and worthy object. His Highness also hinted in his speech that it was believed that by December next the required funds would be collected for the foundation of the Mahommedan University at Aligarh. That anticipation has been realized before its time, as the collected funds have already reached the round sum of £200,000. This in itself testifies to the zeal and fresh enthusiasm now prevalent amongst the Mahommedan communities. There is not one amongst us but looks forward with bated breath to the realization of this dream of dreams.

Now, it may be asked—and reasonably be asked—why we Mahommedans, who, in the days of our conquest spread civilization wherever we entered, should have been backward—as His Highness fitly remarked in his speech—in taking up the educational work on modern lines. I do not think that the reason is far to seek. It was not because we were blind to the numerous advantages accruing from Western, and especially English, education, but it was because there had been a lurking fear in the hearts of the zealous, ardent and devout Moslems that the advent of England into India might spell the death of Court languages. But when once this fear was removed, when we began to realize for ourselves that translations were made into Arabic and Urdu, and that the real English education really meant further progress and further knowledge, how readily we responded to the call of England. One has only to survey the result of the last few years to realize what rapid strides we have made in the advancement of English education. To-day there are amongst us not only students of English law, medicine and science, but profound scholars and great speakers and writers of the English language.

Notwithstanding the advantages we have gained from

English education, it has been admitted time after time, both by the rulers and the ruled, that the Indian Educational System is full of defects. What is education, one may ask. Surely it does not merely consist in reading and writing a foreign language! That would be but superficial knowledge, and, I may add, dangerous to those who possess it. So far as English education is concerned, we Mahommedans cannot be expected to be satisfied with a superficial knowledge of the English language; we want to dive deep, we want to enter into the very heart and spirit of English literature, so that we may see for ourselves its intrinsic worth and beauty. Can anyone deny that a perfect knowledge of English literature and the history of England would be anything but enlightening, lifting and ennobling? It is where this knowledge is desultory and imperfect that the danger lies. To this a truly Indian education would be far preferable, for in that case the danger arising from an imperfect knowledge of the history of England would be avoided. Half Indian and half European education might succeed in turning out B.A.'s and M.A.'s, but they would hardly be a credit either to themselves or to the State. I think that those Indians and Englishmen who have seen the unfortunate results of such an imperfect educational system in India will agree with me.

It is with a view to remove these existing defects in our education system and the danger attached to it, that we Mahommedans desire, above everything else, a residential University. It is not to be denied that the present Indian Universities fall short of the mark, being non-residential. Here is what one of the sympathetic Anglo-Indian Press says about it: "These Universities, being also non-residential, afford none of the collegiate life which is so valuable a feature of our Universities." It would not be out of place here to compare the traditions of great English Universities with those of the Moslem Universities of the past. In the latter the residential system prevailed, as it prevails amongst the former. The peculiar conveniences

which such a system affords account for its unique attraction. It brings syndics, teachers, monitors and students in closer contact than the non-residential system does, with the result that the minds of the juniors imbibe the superior parts of the seniors, as they constantly come together. This system has admirably worked in Neshapur, Cardova and Cairo ; and how admirably it has worked, and still works in England every English student knows.

Speaking of the aims of the Mahommedan University, the *Moslem Review* thus enumerates them :

1. To form a common educational centre to focus the scattered educational energy of the community, and through that central nucleus make rays of sunshine go forth to enliven the afflicted off-shoots, distant or near.

2. The University training should be calculated to encourage the strict enforcement of high discipline and to foster esprit de corps among the alumni.

3. The residential system, after the mode of Oxford and Cambridge collegiate life, almost as it is at Aligarh to-day, should be enforced in the University training and developed to its fullest extent, thus enabling students to remain in touch with the syndics, fellows, professors and teachers.

4. Along with the training in up-to-date sciences and arts to encourage the scholarship of Moslem arts and sciences now rendered obsolete or comparatively half-forgotten : thus to retain the Persian and Arabic literature, history and sciences, so far as they were developed in their palmy days by the Mahommedans.

5. To bring the present stage of scientific perfection into direct bearing on what Moslem scholarship has done in the past on the same lines.

6. To make the necessary religious training compulsory.

7. To make the University curriculum so constituted as to best suit Mahommedan needs with an eye that the Moslem University does not turn out less competent graduates than those from elsewhere ; to be fitted to expand the mental horizon—in fact, to be a liberal education, making students

thinking men, with liberal views, with a noble character, possessed of a faculty of judgment, of application, of clear-sightedness, with self-possession and repose.

8. The Moslem University will keep its door wide open to welcome all comers, as Aligarh College has done ever since its foundation.

9. To devise plans by reducing the cost of education, giving *wazifas* to suitable lads, and by other means to induce more and more Mahommedan youths to come to be educated, special regard being paid to the present financial condition of Indian Mahommedans.

10. To make physical training as nearly compulsory as possible, paying special attention to manly sports, more particularly riding and swimming.

11. To devise such means as would induce parents and guardians to send up their sons and wards with a perfect confidence in the supervision of the University authorities.

This, as we see, is the general outline of the policy on which the Moslem University may be run. Side by side with mental advancement there will be physical development, for a sound mind in a sound body is what is needed. It will be also interesting to note that the Moslem University throws its doors open to everyone, irrespective of caste and creed. Although it will be the chief aim of the institution to inculcate upon the minds of Moslem youths the doctrines of the holy Prophet, that will not in any way interfere with the religious scruples of non-Moslem students. Islam has been noted for its broad principles and for its tolerance, and in accordance with its traditions a comparative study of other religions could be safely introduced at the University: I say safely, because the study of other religions will never for a moment make the Moslem student swerve from his own faith. There is absolutely no fear on that score, and if the study of other religions were freely indulged in at the institution, it would serve to strengthen the friendly feelings between Moslem and non-Moslem students.

The subjects which the University in starting its career may be able to take up can be classified as follows :

1. *Arts :*

- (a) Arts with the art diplomas up to Master of Arts.
- (b) A separate standard for the secondary education.
- (c) A standard for primary education, inclusive of rural education.

2. *Sciences* (both practical and theoretical) :

- (a) Sciences with the science diplomas up to Bachelor of Science and Doctor of Science.
- (b) Post-graduate study of sciences in its practical bearing.
- (c) Post-graduate study of sciences relating to sciences under Moslems.

3. *Medicine :*

- (a) The present up-to-date medicinal sciences of Europe and America up to the L.M.S. examination.
- (b) Schools of old Unani system at Lahore, Delhi, and Lucknow.
- (c) Midwifery and training of *dayis*.

4. *Theology* (according to Islam) :

- (a) The Sunni School.
- (b) The Shia School.

5. A college of *Law and Jurisprudence :*

- (a) The course of Bachelor of Laws for High-Court practice.
- (b) Moslem jurisprudence and the law applicable to India : a comparative study—the post-graduate course.

6. *Engineering :*

Survey and practical mechanism.

7. *Arabic Faculty :*

To prepare students and examine in the Arabic language, literature, and history. Deoband School, Nadwat-ul-ulomo of Lucknow, of Cawnpore, Benares, Kashmir, Rahmat of Ghazipur.

8. *Persian and Urdu Faculty.*9. *Technical Education—viz. :*

(a) Carpentry.

(b) Weaving.

(c) Dying.

(d) Painting.

(e) Iron-smithy.

(f) Shorthand-writing and typewriting.

(g) Agriculture, with up-to-date model farming.

(h) Girls' School : Persian, Urdu, and English, with easy arithmetic. Technical side : cooking, washing, sewing, embroidery, painting, etc.

It is but natural that a fresh awakening should come to every Moslem who cherishes the glorious traditions of the past. Did not Islam in its palmy days establish seats of learning in Spain? Was it not from this centre that intellectual light added its irradiating beams to the lamp of learning, which was practically extinguished in the rest of Europe? "The taste for science and literature," says Renan, in his "Averroes," "had established in the tenth century in this privileged corner of the world a tolerance of which modern times can scarcely afford us a parallel. Christians, Jews, Mussulmans, spoke the same tongue, sang the same songs, shared in the same literary and scientific studies. All worked in the same spirit to promote a common civilization. The mosques of Cordova, where students were reckoned by thousands, became the active centres of scientific and philosophical research."

And now, actuated by the same spirit to promote a common civilization, we are most desirous to found a Moslem University. Such an institution would not only be a credit to the British rule, but it would be in thorough harmony with the codes of Islam. Has not the holy Prophet said : "Acquire knowledge, for knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not ; it lights the way to heaven ; it is our friend in the

desert, our society in solitude, our companion when bereft of friends; it guides us to happiness; it sustains us in misery; it is our ornament in the company of friends. With knowledge one rises to the heights of goodness into a noble position, and associates with Sovereigns in the world."

And it is that that we now seek. We seek for perfect knowledge, perfect as far as human beings can make it, so that we may use it to the best and noblest purposes. The result of such knowledge would be incalculably great. It would open our eyes to such imperfections as exist at present, serve to bring home the religious duty of man to self, make the imagination steady with sober thoughts, whereas now it may be apt to run riot with mistaken aspirations, and, what is most important, it may serve to bring us closer to the country and the Sovereign who gives us peace and safety, and whose benign sway we feel proud to uphold. A University based on broad, liberal and humane principles will be a boon to us, and the future generations will have a great deal to be thankful for to its promoters.

There are two most important reasons why we Moslems should have a University of our own. I think I can do no better than quote the Right Hon. Syed Amir Ali in his own words: "The present Universities in India are mere examining bodies. In the scheme of their work they necessarily take no note of the requirements of special classes; they look to the interests of the general mass. Naturally, the system is more or less out of harmony with the Mahommedan genius, using the word in its restricted sense. In short, the present Indian Universities make the youths of all denominations and nationalities run in one groove, regardless of the difference in their habits of thought, modes of life and social requirements. In the second place, being mere examining bodies, they wholly ignore the formation of character so essential to national life and development and have now become simply huge

institutions for the manufacture of B.A.'s and LL.B.'s.' The fault, however, does not lie entirely with them; but it is unnecessary to discuss the question further. What I have stated sufficiently indicates in my opinion the necessity for a special 'University' for the Mahommedans of India—University in the real sense of the word—which will not only teach, but also examine and impress on its students the hall-mark of qualification and acquirements."

I think it will sufficiently indicate to the minds of those who see clearly what the right hon. gentleman has pointed out that a Moslem University in India is indispensable. What is most needed to fit a student to go forth in the world and fight his way legitimately is the formation of his character. When once his character is formed on the best and highest principles there is no fear of his going astray from his prescribed path of duties. A youth thus equipped would hardly fail to make his own mark in the world and be a credit to his country and his King.

But in order that the proposed University should succeed in turning out such men, it is primarily essential that the Government should recognize it as a University in every sense of the word. Its pass-degrees should be recognized as being on the same footing with other existing Universities, thus making way for the students to offices of honour and position and emolument to the same extent as other Universities. Unless the University meets with such recognition from the Indian Government it could not reasonably be regarded as such. Indeed, it would be ridiculous to give it the name of University. It stands to reason that, if the Government does not recognize the degrees of the University it is proposed to establish as the hallmark of qualification, it cannot mould the course of studies according to the needs and requirements of the Moslem community. It must be borne in mind that it is not proposed to start this University to induce young men to step into it from an abstract love of learning. It indulges in no such Utopian idea. Its main object will be to impart

sound knowledge—literary, scientific, technical, and practical—with a view to the turning out of useful men, who would be an example to others and a blessing to their country. That being the case—the supreme aim of this University—it is absolutely necessary that the Government should give us every encouragement by recognizing it as a University on a perfect level with other existing similar bodies.

Perhaps it may be feared by some lest the education given at the Moslem University should become one-sided on account of Arabic classes and Islamic theology holding a prominent part in the curriculum. It may also be feared lest these should eclipse the Western science and literature, which are, as one might say, the very essence of modern education. Then, again, it might be apprehended that the Moslem University might tend to cut off the Mussulmans from their fellow Indians and thus retard the process of unifying of the Indian peoples into one great nation. These dangers that appear on the surface can be, ought to be, and will be guarded against by the leaders of this great movement. Unless these dangers are obviated, it must be admitted that this noble scheme would fail in its purpose. It is in the peaceful and successful carrying out of this great movement that the leaders of the Moslem community will have a glorious opportunity of showing their tolerance and broadmindedness which Islam enjoins upon them, and which their forefathers have handed down to them. It can safely be averred that the leaders will spare no pains in dealing with the national question in such a manner as would serve to bring the people of India together in mutual sympathy and mutual help.

In asking the Indian Government to recognize our University we ask for no special favour. That would be superarrogant on our part, and such a favour never could be granted. To those who are acquainted with the British policy in India, it will not come as a revelation that that policy has always been one of fair field and no favour, which

consequently makes it impossible for the Indian Government to do more for one section of the Indian communities to the prejudice of others. Herein, I think, lies the greatness and the success of British rule in India. Bearing that in mind, all that we Moslems can do to meet the requirements of our community is to found a University for that purpose, at the same time making it accessible to all who choose to enter it, and ask the Government to give it its sympathetic recognition. These are days of peace and progress, and all sciences and arts—such as engineering, agriculture, medicine, law, mechanics, mathematics and philosophy—as well as religion, can only be acquired through a sound medium. That medium would be a University of our own, conducted and governed by the best talent available and on broad and liberal lines.

The proposed Moslem University will be the means of giving opportunities to men in various walks of life. Those who are blest with worldly goods and therefore do not stand in need of winning their daily bread can, by entering the University, employ their minds in intellectual pursuits and thus expand their mental vision. Those who cannot afford to make "knowledge its own end" their sole motto, can be so trained as to be able to fight their way in the world, while the indigent classes can have suitable provisions made for them. These, without waiting long for the complete University training, can at once take up some technical art by means of which they can enter into life with a modest competence as quickly as they can. Thus the long-standing demand for technical education amongst the Moslem communities can be supplied by the University: by technical education I mean such education as would enable a youth to put theoretical principles to practical purposes with a view to the earning of his own honest living. Indeed, it is imperative that the University should attach great importance to technical education, which, as Lord Curzon justly observes, consists in "practical instructions which will qualify a youth or a man for the purpose of some handicraft or profession."

The Moslem University has the advantage of profiting by precedents. Many years ago most of the educational systems of Europe ignored the importance of technical education, with the result that the study of light literature completely foreshadowed arts and sciences. These educational bodies succeeded in turning out mere place-hunters who hunted in packs for employment. Their markets were glutted with foreign goods, and the much dreaded "economic drain" began to tell heavily upon their prosperity. Things were not set right until technical education was included in the curriculum and native industries encouraged.

And this is what the Moslem University has to bear in mind. It has to inculcate upon the mind of the Indian student that his education does not consist in mere book-reading or place-hunting. It has to show clearly to the Indian student that—

"Honour and shame from no condition rise :
Act well your part, and there all honour lies."

It has to impress upon his mind the fact that there is no shame attached to manual employments, as, unfortunately, many Indian students of the present day seem to imagine. Technical education will come as a boon and a blessing to Moslem youths who have till now been guilty of having neglected it, if not of having actually ignored it. We frankly admit that, so far as technical education is concerned, we have not advanced like our sister communities in India, and it should be the ambition of every Mahommedan to tread the ground he has not covered yet.

Then, again, Islam must not be presented in its exclusive form, but on a broad basis. It should be presented in its true element—namely, tolerance to others, and as a friend and guide to worldly advancement and material progress which serve to make a nation great. As I have said before, the study of other religions could be indulged in at the University, since its doors are open to all, without going

into comparisons, which seldom prove anything but odious. All students, no matter of what caste and creed, should make a common cause amongst them by working together in mutual peace and concord, not only for the national progress, but also for individual advancement.

It is possible that religious enthusiasts may cry that science—and especially Western science—may exercise a sceptical influence on the Moslem mind. I think it can be safely asserted that the possibility is too remote to cause any apprehensions, considering the purity and invulnerability of the Koran. Personally, I am of opinion that there is not the slightest possibility of science turning out even a handful of Moslem sceptics. So fast does the Moslem hold by the word of the Prophet, so firmly does he lean upon the spiritual rock which the Koran has built for him, that no amount of sceptical influence will ever serve to lessen his devotion to his religion and his God. The Moslem history is in itself a proof of the Moslem's devotion to his faith. In face of this even the most bigoted enthusiasts need entertain no apprehensions of a Moslem turning away from his faith, but can, on the contrary, lend their unanimous voice by upholding the establishment of a Moslem University at Aligarh where youths may pour in from all quarters to put the new wine of the West into the old bottles of the East, keeping the colour and quality of the bottles unimpaired.

The proposed Moslem University has met with general sympathy and approval from the majority of leading Englishmen in India. These are the men who have lived and moved amongst us and are, therefore, worth reckoning. They know us, and they know our good points and bad points and our hopes, our desires, our ambitions and our national needs. It would be impossible for me to quote more than two who have been directly connected with the Mahommedan colleges in India. The Hon. Sir Theodore Morison, late Principal M.A.O. College, Aligarh, during the course of his presidential address at the Lucknow

Mahommedan Conference of 1904, made a direct allusion to the Moslem University. The following is an extract :

"By a University I mean a place which would create leaders of thought, and provide a home and an occupation for them. I do not mean a University of the type of Calcutta or Allahabad, which are only Examining Boards with a charter from Government to confer degrees, and which do not, as far as I am aware, foster or encourage learning at all. I am thinking of a University which shall be in reality an abode of learning, which shall bring together in one place the best available masters of various branches of learning to teach and to study their respective subjects, which shall provide them with laboratories and libraries and museums and the journals of learned and scientific societies all over the world. These men, living together in an atmosphere of thought and learning, will stimulate each other's mental activity, and they will originate ideas which they will diffuse among the world outside in the form of books. I want you to notice a distinction which will differentiate them from such writers as exist at the present day in your community; they will all be well-informed men, conversant with the best thoughts of Europe. Surely these men are more likely than any others to contribute something of value to Mahommedan thought, and to enrich your society with new ideas. These men would, by continual converse with one another, give birth to a body of ideas which would become the accepted opinion of the University, and would be ultimately diffused throughout the community. I may, perhaps, be told that the principal thinkers of England do not reside at the Universities. My reply to that is that in England libraries and a learned society are to be found in many other places than the University towns, but that the essential conditions of a learned life do not exist at present anywhere in India, and that the function of your University is to create them. If such a University as I am thinking of ever becomes an accomplished fact, I doubt whether another will be wanted

for a couple of centuries in the whole Islamic world. You may build second-grade colleges and call them by big names, and you may petition the Government to give them charters, but not one of them will ever become a focus of learning for all the high-sounding titles you may coin for them. For so large a scheme as the establishment of an intellectual centre, for the creation of a soul to the Islamic community, you must all unite without thought of petty local interest. Indeed, in such a cause there are no local interests. All Moslems in every place are members of one fraternity, and all of them are equally interested in having as noble a centre of national life as may be."

To this I should like to add the voice of another Englishman. Mr. Henry Martin, Principal, Islamia College, says: "The scheme of a Mahommedan University, whatever outsiders may think of it, bids fair to become in the near future an accomplished fact. Still, it may not be out of place, even at this stage, to attempt an answer to the question, 'How does the scheme strike a sympathetic outsider?' The first thing that strikes one, I think, is the enthusiasm, unanimity and liberality of the Moslem community."

"Since the founding of the great college at Aligarh things have moved rapidly; and to-day the community is fully alive to the necessity of giving its sons the best education that can be obtained, and is willing to pay the necessary price for it. The present enthusiastic response to the appeal of His Highness Sir Aga Khan has come to many of us as a pleasant surprise, and whatever we may think of the wisdom of the scheme itself, we cannot praise too highly the self-sacrificing generosity of that response. The Moslem community certainly deserves to succeed in its efforts. Coming to the scheme itself, the next thing that strikes one is that it is a bold and hopeful attempt to cure the chief weakness of Indian education—namely, its divorce from religious and moral training. All who have taken any interest in the question have seen, pointed out and deplored this great defect. The failure to secure that

moral training has not been due to carelessness or inattention on the part of the Government, but rather to the intense difficulties of the case. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, religious and moral education has been sadly wanting, and the need of such training in schools and colleges remains as urgent as ever. It is not enough to train the intellect, to load the memory with facts and theories, to pour out graduates with book-learning only. Development of character is greater even than the development of mental powers. Mere scholarship cannot of itself develop character. And as this work cannot be accomplished by the State, it must be left to private effort. The Moslem community, therefore, is trying to solve the problem for themselves. They are anxious to produce, not merely good scholars, but good men, good Moslems and good citizens. They have been trying to achieve these objects in their colleges, in Aligarh and Lahore; but now they feel that the work can never be fully done until the University to which such institutions are affiliated is aiming at the same objects. We can, therefore, watch the good experiment with hopeful interest, and trust it may accomplish all it is intended to accomplish, not only for the Moslem community, but also for the cause of education and progress in India as a whole."

In his reference to the want of moral and religious training, Mr. Martin is quite justified in saying that the Government is not to blame for it. In a country where different races profess different creeds and customs, the only policy which the ruling Power can adopt is the policy of tolerant neutrality in all religious matters. The British Government in India clearly saw the difficulties it had to face, so far as the religious training of Indian youths was concerned, and wisely confined itself to a purely secular education: I say wisely, because any other decision on the part of the Indian Government might perhaps have been misconstrued as unnecessary interference in the religious beliefs of the peoples of the East. And since the British Govern-

ment cannot do aught but remain neutral in religious education, it is the duty of the Indians themselves to supply the want, and I think it is equally the duty of the Government to help us to help ourselves. Religion, after all, is the main prop on which a nation builds its greatness. Not all the strength of arms, nor all the might, however stupendous, of army and navy can raise a nation to that height of eminence to which religion alone can exalt it. It will be the chief aim of the Moslem University to raise the community to such a height; nor will it fail to call upon its sister communities to do likewise for themselves. Indeed, it cannot do more. True education, backed by religious and moral training, will be the sole object of this proposed institution, and such education, imparted in its true spirit, will be the means of doing away with that seditious unrest which one hears of nowadays. Indeed, it is not too much to say that such a University as we are contemplating will be a great connecting-link between England and India, and it will also be the means of bringing the Indian Government and the Indian peoples in closer sympathy with one another.

The great historic event which is to take place at Delhi before the close of the year is a happy omen for us all. We could have desired nothing better than the presence of our gracious Sovereign in India to be crowned on the Indian soil. That would be the most opportune moment for His Majesty to lay the foundation-stone of the Moslem University, and thus earn the gratitude of millions of his loyal subjects. Meanwhile, we live in the hope that our great dream will be realized when the royal hand will lay the foundation-stone. This gracious act will be handed down to posterity, and the day on which it is done will remain a red-letter day in the history of India.

THE ANTIQUITY AND ORIGINALITY OF HINDU CIVILIZATION.

BY MAJOR J. B. KEITH,

Formerly of the Indian Archæological Survey.

"The very divergencies of opinion among authors indicate a high antiquity."—Buckle's "History of Civilization."

* * * * *

"The caste system of the Hindus affords proofs of a very ancient civilization."—Dr. William Robertson's "Historical Disquisition on the Hindus."

A LATE venerated friend and master, General Sir Alexander Cunningham, R.E., and by far the greatest authority we know on Indian archæology, more than once observed: "There is a disposition on the part of a certain school of writers to take a pleasure in discrediting both the antiquity and originality of Hindu civilization."

Many illustrious names are found among Indian archæologists—names, alas! too liable to be forgotten in the babble of the special correspondent or jingo writer—men like Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Prinsep, Tod, Sherring, the missionary of Benares, and a host of others; names we reiterate too apt to be forgotten in the realism of the hour, and most of them servants of the East India Company, whose glory was not merely to write about Hindu arts, but who loved India and its people, and received on their part a reciprocating esteem, which we have heard expressed in many parts of India. We would like to see more of them at

the present day, for recent troubles cannot altogether be relegated to the subject race. We owe a vast debt to historians and to experts in every phase of Indian knowledge, whether it relates to philology, ethnology, sociology, geology, and even down to entomology, who have contributed valuable monographs of every conceivable subject of Indian history; but we have selected the name of General Cunningham to vindicate India's title, not merely to a high antiquity, but to an unequivocal originality, because, in addition to being a scholar, he had the advantage of personally travelling over India and knowing the people. This is an immense advantage, for, greatly as we revere the late Professor Max Müller, not merely for his labours and his sympathy for the Hindus, we felt that drawback to his writings so well expressed by Macaulay when he said that "there was all the difference in the world between a Peninsular battle described by Mr. Hallam and one by Colonel Napier." With the latter you are in the thick of the fight. Besides, General Cunningham has helped to correct some very important errors on the part of those who belong to the school we have referred to, and who denied the Hindu's claim to have originated Hindu writing, and, in company with Mr. E. Thomas, further refuted the assertion that the Hindus acquired a knowledge of coinage from the Greeks. The few observations we are about to make on Indian antiquity and originality may do good in arousing attention to the subject in anticipation of His present Gracious Majesty's projected visit to India. The civilization of India may sink in antiquity when we compare it with that of Egypt, but not in interest, as we shall show. And even when we come to speak of antiquity, who has forgot the celebrated passage of Macaulay when describing the age glamour of the Church of Rome, the most venerable Church in Christendom, and seemingly the most indestructible? But she pales in age when we come to think of Indian civilization, and place alongside the historian's description of the Catholic Church and her age

Sherring's reference to India—a country that was carrying on commerce with Tyre and Babylon when Greece was barely an embryo, and before the City on the Seven Hills had arisen to overshadow the history of the world. And it is fitting among those of ourselves who condemn India and its indigenous ideas, in face of the splendours of modern Babylon, to recall that we were a race of savages when she was highly civilized, and could boast no mean plastic and sumptuary arts.

When referring incidentally to ecclesiastical Rome and India—the one a citadel of ancient Christendom and the other a citadel of ancient paganism in regard to longevity—it is impossible not to see certain points in common. Both reverence primitive ideas, and declare that we should conserve what is good in all civilizations, and both, in many things, offering an unchanging *non possumus* to a modern world so full of what is termed progress and reform that it would like to uproot the Family and everything on which the foundations of society depend. We have heard a philosophic doctor in the Presbyterian Church declare that much of the strength of the Church of Rome had lain in conserving what was good in all civilizations. And whatever we may say of India, she, and she alone, has this panoramic interest—that we see all the ages and periods, from the Quaternary period until modern times, revealed before our eyes. We think she has other attractions that give her in other respects an advantage over Egypt, credited with having seen the dawn of civilizations. No doubt, if we look to the place that Egypt occupies in general history, and well described by Baron Bunsen, the interest attached to the land of the Nile is superior to that of the one which emanated—we will not say from the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna, as so often done, for that is to discount Southern India; but simply that it has been overstated. And the interest has been enhanced owing to Egypt having been so easily accessible and more convenient to archæologists. An additional attraction lies in Egypt having been the land

of the Exodus, "and lying close to the Mecca of our faith." But people have overlooked that when you come upon Egypt for the first time she is a matured civilization, exhibiting all the triumph of Egyptian architects, but with none of those intermediate stages giving such a fascination to India, where we can see in architecture the textile giving way to the wooden style and timber being succeeded by stone. You can identify no intermediate stages in Egypt, and it is still a puzzle to know where she obtained her timber from, despite the proximity of Phœnicia. She never evolved the industries or productions that made India so famous, and it is still a dispute among Egyptologists whether she was entitled to be called a commercial country. Anyway, her commerce cannot compare to the world commerce of India. Neither her literature, religion, arts or sciences influenced Europe like those of Babylon or India. The genesis of the Athanasian Creed is not to be traced to her, and it is universally acknowledged, with Victor Cousin, that the cradle of all philosophy was on the banks of the Ganges. Her chief importance now lies in guarding the route to India, and with it the Indian trade, the loss of which would reduce England to a third-class European Power. India to our mind has another interest. Lovers of the Bible delight in it, not merely as an apology for a world-wide creed, rising superior in this respect to the teaching of the Vedas, to that of Confucius, or the Zend-Avesta of the Persians—and this is true—but in India we have the genesis of our own belief. And here we would observe that a very inadequate notice has been taken of a recent work by our friend Arthur Lillie, "Primitive Christianity in India." Semitical influence has been overstated, seeing that the Jews had no Trinity. The Bible is loved, not merely for its claim to a world-wide creed, but as a narrative of antique manners it is full of interest. But it requires India, not only to supplement them, but to correct them; for in that antique land nothing is lost—the nomad cart has survived the railway, and the woman still grinds

corn, as described by Isaiah ; while our friend the "Gwali" may still be seen mounting the rock to see to the "ancestral flame." Alone, while the civilization of Egypt has gone, that of India still remains, and can boast of living indigenous arts, despite efforts to destroy them.

The story that India has nothing old, that she borrowed from all quarters, has been voiced by many authorities, and by none more so than by some who have been the pioneers in conserving her arts, and whose loss to India has been a great and irreparable one, notably Dr. James Fergusson, the historian of architecture, with whose friendship we were honoured, but whose opinions in respect to the antiquity and originality of Indian civilization we intend to combat. They are, we repeat, by no means singular, when we find an authority like Sir William Jones declaring that, in his opinion, Indian civilization was derived from Persia, and even connecting the name of the Indian law-giver Manu with Menes, the Egyptian. With the exception of a few such prevalent ideas as to the origin of Indian architecture, we have no intention to combat a tithe of the fallacies that have sought to rob India of its title to a high antiquity, or to be regarded as a great and original civilization of the ancient world. An undertaking of this kind would involve an amount of detail and a survey of the rise and development of various arts and sciences that we are not prepared to give, to say nothing of morality, religion, and philosophy, all of which would require elaborate monographs in themselves. But when we hear the civilizations of Egypt and China dubbed "indigenous" by such a well-known ethnologist and anthropologist as the late Dr. Daniel Brinton, and India denied the right to such a title, we seem to detect a great misconception of history and of human origins. And, consequently, we think we may be doing a service to our readers in showing how some of the fallacies have arisen. Naturally, it is not in human nature for people to be all of one mind. It was not on this principle that the external world was fashioned,

or even the subject world ; for if we look in front of us and see a majestic argument for unity among all species in the designs of the Creator, and appropriately called Monism, we also see Diversity proclaimed everywhere. No two blades of grass are the same, no two sides of the Alpine mountain, no two soils, no two organisms of the human body, no two members of the human family. Nature is diversified everywhere—in the continents of the Old and New Worlds, in diversities found between Europe and Asia, in geographical features, in climate—everything. Consequently, we are not surprised to find diversity of opinions on all sides.

Nay, with the same facts before them, men form different conclusions. Nowhere is this better shown than in Cardinal Newman's powerful psychological treatise—viz., "*The Grammar of Assent*"—where he exposes the dissimilar views of three authorities on Hellenic history : Grote, Sir G. Lewis, and Colonel Mure. He is, of course, writing purely for a religious object—viz., the necessity of authority in religion—but his exposition is instructive as showing the difference of opinion that exists. It would be passing strange indeed if there was no difference of opinion as to the antiquity and originality of Indian civilization. When we look to the discrepancies that exist among physicists, geologists, and zoologists, such as Lord Kelvin, Sir Charles Lyell, and M. de Quatrefages, as to the antiquity of the world ; or among anthropologists as to the apparition of man and the theatre of that apparition ; between the dates ascribed by extreme men, chiefly transformists, of the type of Mr. Samuel Laing, who finds traces of man, half brute and half human being (an impossible combination), and compare this with the more moderate estimates of Canon Rawlinson and the eminent geologist Sir J. W. Dawson, our eyes are opened as to the vagaries of human opinion ! And, great scientist as he was, Sir Charles Lyell was not infallible, for he thought oceans and continents were interchangeable, until Professor J. Geikie, in that charming

work, "Fragments of Earth-Lore," and supported by Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, the well-known naturalist, has demolished the theory, and proved that continents occupy the place they originally did at the commencement of time. In passing, we would observe that Dr. Geikie has other claims upon us, for his delightful work is a powerful argument as to the necessity of *studying environment*, about the last thing an Anglo-Indian resorts to, with his insular and, above all, racial prejudice! We have no hesitation in saying that, had more attention been paid to a study of geographical charts; to the position occupied by India in the Old World; to its climate at various times; to its valuable assortment of vegetable, animal, and mineral productions, which were superior in number to those found in either Egypt or Babylon, half the fallacies we have met would never have been uttered.

We have heard a great deal in these later days about the "conquest of mind," especially among Christian Scientists, giving way to as many crude and absurd theories as the "conquest of air," and to the triumphs of mind in subduing the powers of the object world. For, without being sceptic as to the final end, on which there is a consensus of opinion in most philosophies, with our countryman Professor A. Bain, we have an immense belief in the reacting influence of body on mind, while being the opposite of materialists. With Locke, we cannot preach about "matter" and its endowments; but we have observed generally that when there has been an abundant supply of products, there has been no difficulty in finding races in India to unlock their hidden treasures. It is the presence of these products in large quantities that gave to India of old its special value. On this subject all writers of any value on India, from Llubkhee onwards, are in unison—*i.e.*, that she was lavishly endowed. Then, if mind is a universal endowment, we must not blind our eyes to the fact that Indian surroundings gave a special character to Indian psychology and educated it. The reposeful landscape, the silent air,

had both something to do with the meditative and contemplative spirit we find in the children of Hindustan, and in even some of its humblest representatives, and to a degree unknown in Europe; for the Indian peasant child, whether boy or girl, will tell you the names of flowers and fruits that would puzzle a European child of the same age, or even an adult.

The Indian organs, more especially the dark lustrous eye, which, if it did not overcome the fair, as Max Müller believed, was marvellously adapted to the most minute work; and it only illustrates ignorance when some Occidental who has never studied the matter tries to throw ridicule on the "webs of woven wind" or the poetry that envelops Indian textiles. In showing an engraved Indian seal to a celebrated London firm, the work of a Delhi artist, we heard the remark: "Oh that our people had eyes to carry out such minute work!" The same eyes in the person of an assistant Indian gamekeeper will single out the buck in a herd of deer long before his European master, and we believe the other organs of sense are equally diversified.

As you examine a Buddhist monument and observe the singular powers of observation that enabled a Hindu workman to note every insect and creeping thing, to depict plants in all stages of growth, from the chrysalis germ to the matured state, your natural remark is, "What students of nature, and how well qualified to be discoverers!" Nor does this conviction leave you when you become acquainted with Hindu art, whether in the plastic form or in Hindu literature, religion, or philosophy; for you are abreast of powers that display a singular mastery over analysis, reasoning, and reflection, with no mean logical aptitude. And not only is preparation for mental study elaborate in place, posture, and manner, down to breathing through the nostrils (not mouth), but you find yourself in presence of an amount of definition, classification, and refinement, that show the Hindus to have been not only close but subtle thinkers. We can picture a Rishi retiring to a forest or

cave under the canopy of heaven, and searching for the "Atman" in an esoteric revelation—*i.e.*, him that is beyond all and above all. And whatever we think of their terminology and copious use of numbers and terms on every line, their repetition, manner of contrast, and even contradiction, when discussing the most profound and subtle questions regarding Creation or cosmology, we are bound to confess that the Hindus are a singularly original people, not merely capable of elevated thoughts, but who, to use our own words, do everything in a manner different from the European, and who look at everything from a different standpoint or aspect. So that when the European psychologist refers to the human mind, "the same under every age and clime," he is thinking of the "universal aspect," not of the "diversified" one, with which he has perhaps little acquaintance. Moreover, the law of universality itself entirely exonerates the Hindu from being a copyist.

The law of universality so lucidly expounded by Dr. Robert Flint in his "Philosophy of History," and which sees the human mind, when confronted with the same phenomenon, arriving at the same conclusions, as in the case of the Eleusinian mysteries found in both Greece and Mexico; in the equally strong analogies existing between the civilizations of Egypt, India, or Mexico; or the still more apposite examples which we find in the atom theory of the Hindu philosopher, Khanda and the Greek Democritus; in the Homeric and Grecian epics; or in the likeness, or rather traits of likeness, between the Vedanta philosophy of the Hindus and that of the philosophy of Plato. Nevertheless, we own it is a great puzzle to decide what is derived and what is not, seeing that everything is bound to have an antecedent, and, as we all know, Asiatic civilization of historic times preceded that of Europe.

Not only plants and animals—at least, the majority of them—went from the East to the West, but a large number of religious and philosophical ideas, as well as arts, followed

in the same train. We are one with our friend Arthur Lillie in much that he says about "Saiva," or that India was the original habitat or the country which saw the genesis of many of our religious conceptions; but one cannot agree with him when he tries to make out that Christianity was derived from Buddhism. Once we had a correspondence with a most excellent and amiable man, the Buddhist high-priest of Colombo, and he was of the same opinion as our friend; and we remember Dr. Hoernle, when secretary of the Calcutta Asiatic Society, the son of a Protestant missionary, giving vent to the same conviction, with a slight variation, for Lillie's idea has been that Buddhist missionaries went westward; and, if we are not mistaken, Dr. Mahaffy, author of "*Social Life in Greece*," shared in what some would call the same heresy. Our friend the Colombo priest thought that some of Christ's disciples had wandered over to India. It would be absurd for us to discuss such a subject here, but we confess we see no analogies between Buddhism and Christianity—the one a religion arising in the East and taking final refuge in the East, and the other, arising on the confines of the West, addressing itself, it is true, to the entire world, but its field of influence remaining chiefly in the West.

We have always felt that the Schoolmen of the European Middle Age owed something to Brahman theology; nor would St. Thomas Aquinas, who owned Aristotle, the pagan philosopher, for his master, have denied the impeachment, perhaps, of owing something to the Brahmins, on the ground that truth is the same, whether in the mouth of a Brahman or in the mouth of a European teacher. Nay, unless we are wrong—and we speak under correction—the Church recognizes, or rather recognized in the days of primitive Christianity, that a degree of truth was to be found in ancient pantheons and mythologies. Praises of the "Divine Name," Brahmanical litanies, and the "transfer of works," are to be found in Brahmanical theology and liturgy, as in Catholic. But we have extended our remarks

too far, and would point out that there are limits to the derivative theory; for nothing can be more absurd than Dr. Wise's attempt in his "Paganism in Caledonia" to point out Aryan symbols in ancient stones in the North of Scotland, when he comes to detect all sorts of Oriental marks in that quarter. It is something on a par with Max Müller's and Dr. Schliemann's effort to identify the "Swatiska" as a purely Aryan symbol. Dr. Paul Dreussen may be quite right when he observes that far too much attention has been paid to Semitical influence, but we do not see why what is called "Aryan" should have taken its place, and think that the "Aryan craze," attributing all Indian civilization to that race, ought to have received a quietus when the Indian Maharajah called for purifying water, to free him from the pollution of coming in contact with an Occidental claiming to be of the same Aryan race as himself.

Our prefatory remarks, seeking to show the origin of misconceptions on the antiquity and originality of Indian civilization, would not be complete if we did not say that the "law of diversity" can be best appreciated when we come to look at "foreign influence" as seen in Indian arts. To this we have given much attention when in touch with the monuments, but we cannot reproduce here a tithe of our researches. Anglo-Indians, and even that erudite authority Sir Henry Maine, have been prone to form their ideas on what they found in Europe. Because the Briton, who as a race has no artistic instincts, and takes his arts from the Greek, his law from the Romans, and is credited, if nothing else, for taking his religion from the Jews, men would try to judge India on the same principle; but they forget that Indian civilization came down as from a primitive fountain, and has been continuous throughout.

The cataclysm that overtook Europe in the Glacial Age of prehistoric time was not half so destructive in the East as in the West, owing to differences of temperature, so that

perhaps more ancient remains are to be found in India than in any other country we know, including among the lower races the *Bos Indicus*, a descendant of the Stone Age, and quite a distinct race from the *Bos taurus* of Europe. Our business, however, is with its historic civilization, and we only indirectly refer to the other, where we have, with other countries, the implements of the Stone Age, to say how inconceivable it is that a country with such fine physical features and such capacity for production, which traded with both the Egyptians and Chaldeans, more especially with the latter, when apparently there were harbours that were subsequently swept away, as geologists inform us, and which has contained from time immemorial many languages, containing the mention of many arts, including that of writing, should be dubbed an unknown country, when Egypt and Babylon were in the zenith of a high civilization. We are actually asked to believe by some of the sceptics that India, a land which had been richly endowed in prehistoric times, was a species of *terra incognita* when other Asiatic countries were far in the van of civilization. We can excuse two friends—the late Dr. Forbes Watson and Sir Purdon Clarke, the one a most reputable India House expert and the other an art director at South Kensington—for making statements about India, for they had no special knowledge, although it is almost incredible to think that Dr. Watson, even in a prosaic commercial monograph on the textiles, should have declared that the Moslems taught the Hindus the art of sewing. He could not have been aware that the Hindus were adepts in the use of every species of Neolithic needle—in iron, bone, and ivory—and that the eye of this needle—*i.e.*, its form—is retained in the interstices which connect the columns of the great Sanchi colonnade in Bhopal. Nor could he have seen the Sanchi sculptures, carrying us back to a remote period, in which you find sewn garments in every material—wool, cotton, brocade, and silk—or read of Sita's trousseaux in the great Hindu epic of the Ramayan.

Sir Purdon Clarke tried to do good service to Indian art in securing a fine collection for England at South Kensington, even if it has done not a little towards the reproduction of Indian art in England, which is not a gain to India. He, too, is to be excused for discounting the antiquity of Hindu art, but scarcely for declaring that the wild Bedouin of the desert taught the long-civilized and highly polished Hindus!

We do not say that the Arabs had not a beautiful art of their own when they entered India early in the ninth century, and the late General Sir Murdock Smith, R.E., was clearly wrong when he sought to magnify Persian art at the expense of the Arabs, in the same way as M. Senart did in discounting Moorish art in Spain. The Persians were a people who not only derived their civilization from Assyria, but, lying adjacent to other Powers, not only borrowed from, but plundered their neighbours right and left; and they left little or no influence on Indian art. This was scarcely the case with the Moslems or Arabs, for it has recently been proved that Arabia was a great nation at the time of Queen Sheba's visit to Solomon. The Mahomedans, in many ways a destructive Power, did exercise a temporary influence under Akbar, but it is simply laughable to imagine that they taught arts and sciences to an old cultivated people like the Hindus. One may mention that in conversation General Cunningham held the same opinion as ourselves. As a matter of fact, we have reason to believe that the Mahomedans derived much of their medical knowledge from the Hindus, and it is well known that the Hindu quarry became a convenient quarry for them, in the same way as the Greek temple did to the Romans. Great conquering nations have not much time to evolve arts, which as a rule belong to subject races, like those who built Susa and other Persian palaces. The Moslem has his own virtues, but the majority of our countrymen, whose knowledge of India commences with the period of Mahomedan rule, are inclined to take a perverted

view of Hindu art ; and for the reason that their sympathies lie with a ruling and conquering race, like themselves celebrated for administrative talent. Not that either Mahomedan or Saxon administration, which multiplied individual rule, was superior in an economical point of view to Hindu rule under their community government. At the present day it is the rule to praise the Mahomedans at the expense of the Hindus, but it is fitting to remind our countrymen who rely so much on the Moslems that "Mahomedan" is the name for a religion, not of a race, and that a large portion of the so-called Mahomedans are the descendants of Hindu converts to Islam, many of whom, as we can testify, preserve Hindu customs.

Among those who deride Hindu antiquity we are sorry to include Dr. R. Von Ihering, who, in his "History of the Aryans," laughs at it. We are the more sorry because he has coined a word, and a very apposite one—"the soil is the nation"—for, if merely confirmatory of Montesquieu's dictum, it requires to be emphasized ; otherwise you are ignorant of national character and all that makes up national and indigenous art. Von Ihering's sole authority for writing as he has done is the old stock one of men who write on second-hand testimony—viz., Herodotus, who, despite his voracity for information, could know little about India, and recorded no important fact outside the growth of cotton-trees. Being a lawyer, the Munich jurist was no doubt much impressed with the rise of international law which proceeded from Babylon, without doubt then the great emporium of commerce, and, as a consequence of it, law. We know that it is generally believed that the Babylonians were the first to build and propel ships, having watched the working of the fins of a fish ; but what was there to prevent the same idea entering into the minds of other nations, when we remember that the ships were built on the principle of an enlarged river-boat found in both Egypt and India ? Babylon was not only the commercial "hub" of the universe, but, judging from what the Bible says of it—*i.e.*, the prophets

—the scene of great activity. There many Eastern sciences were patented, more especially astronomy, favoured by the brightness of the celestial regions in these parts, and from Babylon astronomy passed to China and to Greece; but it does not follow that Egypt borrowed the sciences or took the idea of a temple astronomical observatory from Babylon. Here we are not discussing the origin of arts and sciences, but the antiquity of Indian civilization. And as Von Ihering ridicules it, we may mention that Bailly gives the date of Indian astronomy as far back as 3111 B.C. This may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt the Hindus were early engaged in astronomical observation. They, too, in some parts were favoured by marvellously bright heavens, as in Southern India, and, according to Dr. Edward Caird, the physical unity of the heavens was the basis of some of their philosophical ideas. Many sciences, indeed, are patented in a particular habitat such as steam, the electric light, and are distributed all over the world; but we think it too much to say with Canon Rawlinson and Dr. Von Ihering that the majority of arts were patented in Babylon, and from that centre migrated east and west, among others the knowledge of writing and the construction of an alphabet. We may as well say that the Mexicans obtained their idea of a pyramid from Egypt, or that brass originated with the Jews of the Bible. And the same may be observed of other arts, more especially agriculture, to say nothing of language itself. Until Aryan pretensions were challenged, the belief was long circulated that these wandering nomads, who arrived in India about 4000 B.C., arrived in the country with a large assortment of well-developed arts. On examination this turned out to be a delusion, as is well known, for the Aryan dictionary had no words for the sea or agriculture, and it is an undisputed fact that the first lessons the Aryans received in agriculture was from the non-Aryans. Because the dark race, their predecessors, who seem to have occupied the entire Indian continent, were reputed to be physically and mentally the inferior of the Aryans, called "noble," the

non-Aryans came to be looked upon generally as a people of a very low calibre, and generally confounded with a tribe or race called Daszus. As we have discussed the whole Indian race question in detail elsewhere, we cannot enter upon it in this place further than pointing out that in our opinion the many elements composing the non-Aryan race, more especially the Mongoloid, who seem to have been widely diffused in India, Babylon, Egypt, and America, have been ignored. According to Canon Rawlinson's edition of Herodotus, it was the opinion of the father of history that in his time there were very few Aryans in Asia. Be this as it may, it is our conviction that the non-Aryans were the people who planted the seeds of Hindu civilization, one of the first and most useful of arts being agriculture and the subordinate arts dependent upon it. They were the people who first acclimatized, or rather first domesticated, plants and animals, and made them serviceable for the purposes of man. It was they who first irrigated the soil of India, and who first established the village community, which in our opinion took the form of Lacustrian dwellings similar to those on piers in Switzerland. Nothing is lost in India, and the form of old houses on piers may be seen on the Sanchi Tope.

We do not deny that agriculture is a very primitive art, and was practised by the Red Indians in America, who grew maize. The Chinese, whose civilization is reputed to date from 2000 B.C., could not have many arts if this is the case, and yet it is said they grew rice as far back as 2800 B.C., and it is certain that it was grown in Bengal at a time not very much later. Into this subject we decline to go deeply, for the antiquity of Indian civilization is a theme that would occupy a volume; and all we can do for our readers is to recommend them to read the work of Professor Oppert, the Sanskrit scholar who was at Madras, on the "Original Inhabitants of India." We may not go so far as he went when he avers that they evoked kingdoms, governments, and states, as well as arts, including commerce,

but assuredly we are not with those who believe that Indian history dates from the time of the Brahman Rig Veda, 1400 B.C., or with certain assumed authorities who aver, like the late Sir W. W. Hunter, that until the arrival of the Aryans the Indians—*i.e.*, the non-Aryans—were a poor, despised people, who erected nothing beyond a few rude megalithic mounds. Agriculture gives birth to architecture, and if we cannot assign dates for the brick cities of the Punjab, some of which were in existence at the time of Darius, 500 B.C., there is no reason to conclude that some of those cities were not in existence about 2000 B.C.

India, on account of its famed wealth, was a species of El Dorado for the people of many nations, and had been resorted to by men belonging to the Negroid, Australoid, and Tartar or Mongolian races, at a very early period. And whatever we owe to the Brahmans as the custodians of art traditions, their mendacity in many matters was as remarkable as it is significant. As the non-Aryans were the authors of many Indian cities, the Aryans carefully changed their names, just as the Mahomedans, at a much later period, their own. They did something more, for they changed the names of workmen, who in by far the greatest number were non-Aryan, including miners, who discovered nearly all the mineral wealth of India. Quarrymen all came of this stock, and Mrs. Manning, in her "Disquisition on India," need not have raised the question as to the Turanian origin of these people; and it is only the curious in history who, when he comes to examine the character of the non-Aryan, freighted with the love of liberty, like Buddha, also of non-Aryan race, sees how much the race was defamed and misrepresented.

The Brahmans not only defamed the non-Aryan men, but the non-Aryan women and their status in ancient history. They were of a very bold and healthy type. We are not quite ready to traverse the historian of architecture's views on Indian architecture, which we will come to by-and-by, but will content ourselves by observing that the

Asoka period (250 B.C.) is far too late for the beginning of Indian architecture. Our ideas may be perfectly erroneous, and yet, making all due allowance for geographical situation, climate, and the character of peoples, we think the dates assigned to Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, and Persia, quite incredible in their antiquity when we compare them with the later dates assigned to India ; and more incredible still when we remember that the whole of the ancient world, or the countries composing it, were more or less under *one civilization*, and include arts, such as arms, that everywhere attained the same state of perfection.

We have to repeat here that the antiquity of a civilization of an art or industry is a question by no means easily settled, as we see when men like Canon Rawlinson and Sir J. W. Dawson, the geologist, gave 5000 B.C. as the approximate date which saw the birth of all the civilizations of the Old World, while others put down the advent of Egyptian civilization at about 10,000 B.C., about double that period. Our archæologists are naturally upon their guard as to Hindu—we may almost call it Oriental—exaggeration, for who takes the Biblical figures as to the numbers slain in battle seriously? The whole system of Hindu cosmography and chronology is not to be depended upon, notwithstanding that they were by no means children in the science of numbers, and knew what a small or large population could do. They could watch the procession of arts as other people, and however much Dr. Whewell and John Stuart Mill might despise the science of the Egyptians in their desire to puff Western knowledge, both the Egyptians and Hindus so far understood hydraulics that they could put enormous beams on a building in a manner which has almost defied moderns to discover.

Incidentally we may mention that we discovered in a quarry near Sanchi, in 1883, the inclined ramp, on which the great stones were drawn up and adjusted in their place. But with all our esteem for the Hindus, we must acknowledge that in their calculations they indulge in all

sorts of distortions. They give us no estimate of the duration of a geological age, an interesting subject, seeing that they cannot be the same in the East as in the West, but they indulge in big figures when they come to reckon with the length of ages, which they divide into *yugas* or *kālpas*. Their ideas, as is well known, are the opposite of ours in all things; not that we are entitled to laugh at their cosmology, which a recent commentator on the Vedānta philosophy, Dr. Paul Dreussen, of Kiel, praises as being much more logical than our own.

A love of antiquity is one of the failings, not merely of the Hindus, but of most Easterns, and we think it is Confucius who expatiates on the lustre of the ancients. Old places, old sites, and old ideas, have a fascination for the ancients, and to an extent to which our modern Western world is a stranger. We do not say that all Occidentals are like the American, who doats upon the up-to-date hotel, and will leave his old hostelry in the Fifth Avenue for a new one, or those who prefer the latest novel to the best. On some of us the spell of an old castle and an old family has an attraction, and we recall Byron's lines in "*Childe Harold*." But we have not the veneration for the past felt by the Hindus. Buckle becomes quite impatient at the thought of this veneration, and we actually heard of Herbert Spencer, one of the apostles of evolution, writing to his friend Dr. A. Bain, "What is all this talk I hear about the past?" when it was hinted to him that there was, after all, not so much very new in the world as some believe in, and that the ancients were not quite fools. We are only mentioning this, that we can understand a European archæologist being careful to guard against Hindu exaggeration. But we carry our scruples a little too far, and even General Cunningham, a lover of antiquity, had to be on his guard, and in our opinion somewhat underrated Hindu claims. In the case of Fortress Gwalior, a citadel with which we were very intimate, we think he greatly underestimated the age of the fortress in putting it down to A.D. 200. We were familiar

with most of its stones, and the cyclopean masonry to be encountered on its western side indicated it to us as being a stronghold of great antiquity, one of those that carry the mind back to the origin of fortification, brought about by improving on the natural strata of the rock with its "headers" and "stretchers."

As we all know, the rock caves were the early dwellings of men, and why, as Buckle appositely asked, should the Indian ones be later than those of Egypt? Our knowledge may be very imperfect, but we do not quite accept Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess's presentation on the Indian caves as absolutely correct. To these caves the early anchorite of religion repaired, and they are still occupied by the religious. We know that we may shock the orthodox evolutionist, but, falling somewhat into the ideas of Joseph de Maistre in his degeneration theory, we do not altogether subscribe to the ideas of the opposite school. It is recorded that the ancestors of the Hindus, as well as of the Greeks—*i.e.*, the Pelasgians—"repaired to a mountain and worshipped God in a temple not made with hands." Moreover, the primitive idea of God was so great that He could only be contemplated "in abstraction," and the Hindus, however much they honoured the inferior gods of the Hindu pantheon, never raised a temple to Brahma, the Supreme Being, a knowledge of whom has never been lost in India. The Gwalior Hill is precisely one of those places where we can imagine the non-Aryans repairing to. And here we have to remark that General Cunningham's objection to the extreme age of Kharj Rai, the local annalist, allotted to the fortress of 3000 B.C. was that such a date would be inconsistent with the silence of Ptolemy. We do not pretend to run tilt against so great an archaeological authority, but we see no reason why the old town of Gwalior, which was situated on the western side and made of brick, should not be quite as old as the cities of the Punjab. On its walls we have detected some very old representations, such as Eve offering the forbidden fruit to Adam, and one repre-

senting a man coming out of the capital of a column formed of a crocodile. In asking our Brahman assistant for an explanation, he at once replied : " The same as your Jonah in the whale's belly."

If our memory does not fail us, Sir Alexander Cunningham came across buildings not unlike Egyptian enclosures in India, but we have not seen them, and are rather with the historian of architecture in being sceptical over their existence. At one time we thought the Jain statuary, some of which are covered with wigs " unknown in India," very Egyptian in appearance ; but however much we may feel that the origin of the Jains may never have been satisfactorily set forth, and, with Tod, see their worship in Arabia, and believe that they were among the oldest of commercial agents, we have not been able to identify them with Egypt. On the other hand, near Paroli, to the north of Gwalior, we meet enclosures with very primitive masonry, and with statues which rather refute Dr. Fergusson's opinion, which he communicated to ourselves, that an effigy of Maya Devi, well-known as Buddha, near Bhilsa, or Besnagar, was the oldest piece of sculpture in India.* The Gwalior Rock had been quarried for countless ages, the quarrymen being, as we said before, of non-Aryan race, and Gwalior unmistakably being a non-Aryan fortress in its origin. Independent of this, while we feel that the opinions of Kharj Rai, the local annalist, as to age are to be taken with the usual grain of salt, we find some of his statements otherwise disputed to be pretty correct, notably that of Rajah Man Sinh, one of the most popular of Hindu Sovereigns, introducing water into the fortress in the fifteenth century, and by means of a canal, and from a place called Rai, situated some distance from Gwalior. The annalist story was that before Man Sinh married his Queen, he asked her to what she attributed her fine form and strength. Her answer was the " waters of Rai."

As well known, the Hindus knew something about agriculture, far more than the European Department seemed

* Age calculated by Dr. Fergusson as 250 B.C.

disposed to allow, as natural to a people who have lived on the land for untold centuries, whose ancestors discovered the value of plants and animals and were among the first to domesticate them. They seem to have been acquainted with both soil and climate, to have understood implements best adapted for the working of the soil, so rich in some parts that in Malwa they dispensed with the use of manure for 2,000 years. As well known, they invented a very ingenious system of well irrigation, but, what is not so generally known, in addition to tanks, had many canals, which cost the people practically nothing.

The local annalist of Gwalior had referred to one of those canals, but many scouted its existence. It was the good fortune of the writer to confirm the truth of Kharj Rai's statement, and to rediscover the canal. More singular still, he found it made with cylindrical conduits, like a number of accentuated ginger-beer bottles joined together, and the complete duplicate of a Roman canal the writer found in Algeria, near Cherchal (ancient "Julius Cæsaraea") in 1884. This is another of the many instances contradictory of the derivative theory and illustrative of the human mind working on parallel lines and producing the same thing. It would be perfectly futile on our part if we endeavoured, in support of the high antiquity of Indian civilization, to give a tithe of the arts and sciences which the Hindus evolved, and which stamp them, or rather their civilization, as extremely ancient as well as original. If we relied on no other art than "dress," that alone would give them a unique title; for we should have to go a long way back—ay, into the grey dawn of civilization—to point to a time when the Hindus were not well dressed, no matter whether they resorted to the bark of trees or to the skins of wild animals. Already we have refuted a fallacy on this subject, and drawn attention to the use of not merely the iron, but the bone and ivory, needle. More than this, we have been acquainted in our time with the India "chamars," or cobblers—*i.e.*, shoemakers—one of the few guilds of

workmen in India who possess prehistoric traditions, and from whom we learned something about leather tokens and a leather coinage. Attempts to deny Hindu antiquity in the matter of dress are about as laughable as the attempt to saddle them with impurity in their mode of dress because certain men were unable to appreciate the marvellous texture of their garments—webs of “woven wind”—or the dexterity and precision of the Hindu sculptor, that had eyes to depict such fine work! As well known, the Hindus were not ignorant of the arts of the geographer, even if they wanted audacity or boldness, like the Chinese, who, like Rob Roys, may have crossed over to America, and who, with the aid of the “magnet” which they discovered, made voyages into Central Asia. In their land surveying they could not fail to know something of geography as well as geometry, just as their knowledge of numbers and hydraulics made them acquainted with building. And in looking to the origin and independent character of arts, proud man must not forget what he owes to the humble ant and spider, to the aerial bird or fish.

It was the natural rock both in Egypt and in India that suggested the temple, as well as the durability with which the ancients sought to invest their works. Time, we grant, in the modern sense is very precious, for in a materialistic age “time is money”; but it does not obscure the thoughts of the Egyptians, who looked to the eternity of the rocks, or the fine saying of Virgil, when reproached for the trouble he was taking over his work, “that he was working for eternity.”

A sanitary engineer or graduate of Cooper's Hill, when he wanders into some of the odoriferous districts of India, may be possessed of an enquiring turn of mind, wonder what Moses did in ancient times, even if fortified with a knowledge of the dry-earth system; and when he wanders into the ancient palace of a Rajah, utterly unacquainted with native habits, such as sleeping outside or on the roof, is seized with a fit of denunciation when he contemplates small rooms and other arrangements. Then a feeling of indig-

nation becomes intensified when he looks to the up-to-date palaces in Europe, fitted with all modern convenience. Indian public works architecture was not perfection in our time, and we have occupied stifling barracks in which we could neither breathe nor see. We are not speaking in condemnation of a department, but some of its members who now write in condemnation of Indian art, without studying its motive or its *raison d'être*, and in hope that it may be entirely superseded by Western ideas. But as an admirer of the Hindus and their works, we are obliged to make an apology for even their benighted and so-called borrowed architecture! Why it should be thus described we are unable to say, for there is not a portion or detail of it that is not entirely different from European, and inspired by ideas the very opposite of Western, sunk deep in the recesses of the history of the Hindu race and their differentiated national character, the very antipodes in all things of the European. The Hindus may be of the same Aryan race as the Greek—an assertion by no means mathematically demonstrated—but in their arts they constitute a sort of antipodes. We should be extremely grieved to see Hindu art effaced, the primary reason being that it is unique of its kind, more particularly that of architecture—not like English, the copy of the Greek or some other style, but because it is purely indigenous, making allowance for universal salients in the distribution of parts and common to all architecture. All its ornamental forms are culled from external Nature, and its naturalism is the very opposite of the Greek, which reflects their idealism. And we have in Hindu architecture not alone distinctive racial traits or national character, but much that is distinctive in the history of Hindu civilization—the family spirit as distinct from Western individualism, and, above all, the religion of the people. It is a veritable history of Hindu civilization. When we look at an architectural column, we have to notice, not only the beauty of the ornament, so different from our own, but because it preserves the memory

of the Hindu epic in its capital, or the war of the Pardu Brothers.

But we have not quite finished with Hindu acoustics as seen in architecture. We have heard the lighting of a Hindu building found fault with, and yet we know that when the Emperor Baber visited the Gwalior Palace, he was not only impressed with the coolness of the subterranean chambers, constructed on the same principle as in Babylon, but he declared that, after he had got accustomed to these chambers—*i.e.*, after a few minutes—he saw clearly! It was the practice of the Hindus, full of the poetry of the East, to admit light into a palace or tomb through double corridors of beautiful perforated screen-work, and its effect at the mystic hour of sunset, with the light thrown in diminished quantities into a tomb, is one that no one of appreciation can forget. And yet, strange to say, a Philistine of a subordinate in the "Public Works" thought he might improve Hindu acoustics by supplying the Gwalior Palace with English panes of glass for windows, forgetting that the object of an Indian architect in a warm country ought to be that of diminishing both the light and the heat. The great Karli, or Buddhist cave temple, on the Poonah Road has not only been described as a fine illustration of lighting from the ceiling, but the parent of "the dim religious light" subsequently introduced into the Byzantine church and the Gothic cathedral of Europe. And yet there are men who deny the Hindus originality in their ideas and thought! The effect of introducing light from the ceiling was that it fell upon and illuminated the sanctuary when the main body of the temple was left in gloom. We have the more pleasure in making this statement, for we have been indirectly attacked, not by authorities with any knowledge, but by passing visitors to India purely interested in Western trade, for declaring that Western civilization was destroying the indigenous art and industry of India.

As this does not aspire in any way to be even an

epitomized account of Indian arts, but a slight effort to defend both the antiquity and originality of Hindu civilization, we are compelled to pass over a multitude of subordinate arts that are the outcome of agriculture and architecture, and confine ourselves to a few special reflections on the last art, having particular reference to the opinions of the historian of Eastern architecture, Dr. James Fergusson. At the same time, before continuing our subject, we cannot forbear saying a few words about Indian commerce. Allowing barter to be one of the oldest instincts of mankind, its development, of course, is dependent upon the discovery of products and bringing the arts to maturity. We may take it as perfectly certain that a considerable internal trade was evolved in India during the time of the non-Aryans, and with the Babylonians not later than 2000 B.C., for a simple people like the Indians could not have consumed a tithe of their production. Babylon was a great manufacturing centre, like Tyre or modern London of our own day, but it produced little, and we have ample evidence that raw material from India reached it in considerable quantity. It would not surprise us to know that it drew upon India for its shipbuilding material, seeing that it even imported walking-sticks from that country. As to commerce with Egypt, we must speak with more caution. The two countries were physically united by a coast-line in the Tertiary Age, and when we hear of a line from South-East Africa to Cairo and a perfected overland railway to Hindustan, the thought of history repeating itself immediately recurs to our mind. Already Indian emigrants are flocking to Natal, and the African continent, we are convinced, will in the future be the theatre for the solution of many questions, the primary one being India's congested population. There had been a very active intercourse between the Far East and Africa from prehistoric times, far more than people imagine, and the Indian land had been prolonged far down into the Southern Sea, so that intercourse between the two conti-

nents was rendered, comparatively speaking, easy, and from an early historical period we know the intercourse continued. How the Negroids and Australoids, who were among the first Indian emigrants, reached India we hesitate to form an opinion. Then be it known—for we have it on the authority of Humboldt—that the Hindus understood the monsoons from the oldest period, and there is rather a turbulent tribe, called the Moplahs, in Malabar who carry on intercourse with Africa to this day. The Egyptian connection with Egypt must have been very active, as the Thebes inscription bears out, regarding Indian imports. We cannot say, as one versatile writer has declared, that Egypt imported Indian tamarind wood for coffins; but it has now been demonstrated by Professor Keane that the gold of Ophir, over which at one time there was a fruitless controversy, did not come from India, as Eastwick and many writers imagined, but from South-East Africa—*i.e.*, Rhodesia. But Dr. Keane mentions it was transferred to a port in the Red Sea by “Indian ships.” In early days there were no long sea voyages, except some doubtful ones by Phœnicians, and Greek vessels never got beyond the Pillars of Hercules—*i.e.*, Straits of Gibraltar—but there was a great coasting trade to Africa and to the Further East. In Buddhist times, 600 B.C., the Rebirth Stories refer to a three-masted ship called *Spirit of the Sea* in beautiful figurative language, as glowing as that with which St. John describes “the New Jerusalem” in the Apocalypse, for “the masts were of sapphire and the helm was of gold.”

Blessed with great rivers or estuaries for facilitating commerce, on which were situated great commercial towns, with ample building material and factories for the construction of anchors, we see no reason to assume that Indian commerce should not be quite as old as the Egyptian. And the commerce was fed by a chain of valuable local industries to which Egypt was a stranger. The Indian colonists who carried the Buddhist religion to Java and

erected the sculptures of Bodo Bodor must have been transported in ships. Indian harbours might have been better, but they could not have been so contemptible when, in Marco Polo's time, a fleet of ships was seen in Calicut.

And, speaking of originality, what can be more ingenious than the catamaran boats that mount the Madras surf, or the Burmese boats, which are equal to the "boar" on the Sittang River in Burmah? Indian commerce is a subject that would require a monograph in itself, so that we must reluctantly curtail our remarks. Architecture is quite sufficient for the argument we seek to advance. It has been objected that the Hindus were indifferent engineers; nor do we apologize for their scant knowledge in this respect. Unaccustomed to use the true arch (not that they did not know it, as alleged), their bridges were poor; and yet we pointed out that they knew the cantilever principle many centuries before Sir John Fowler appropriated it.

Before we resume our remarks on the antiquity and originality of Indian architecture, at the cost of challenging the dictum of a revered master, whose loss to Indian art and its conservation we have long deplored (for, in addition to the possession of exquisite taste, he was an excellent friend and knew India—not one of those dilettante writers who now absorb attention on second-hand information—*i.e.*, sweaters), one would offer a prefatory remark.

As we have demonstrated, antiquity, whether it relates to the history of civilization or the age of the world, is a very perplexing subject. The theories that have been advanced as to the cradle of the human race, or the cradle of a particular race, are as numerous as they are contradictory. And when we get on to the subject of foreign influence, we must not forget that there are a considerable school, numbering followers among philologists and ethnologists, who are pologenists in opposition to monogenists, for they do not believe in the unity of the human race, which we do. Among the so-called aborigines (Indian races) we have

searched for an autochthonous race, and have failed to find one. The Todas of the Neilgherry Mountains, in Southern India, are believed to be Caucasians, and, according to Terrien de la Couperie, so are the Chinese. This, again, raises the question as to migrations eastward and westward, and whether races, after a certain time, are not barred from emigrating owing to the impossibility of acclimatization. The Greeks have left no descendants in India. A few arts do migrate in company with emigrants, and conquering armies, and in the train of religion; but their number is so insignificant compared to the great bulk of indigenous art, which has been evolved and promoted primarily through the existence of material. Canon Rawlinson would have it that such universal arts as pottery and weaving originated in Babylon, and was innocent of Llubkhe's dictum that, however favoured some races were in their artistic temperament, such as the Hindu and Greek arts, belongs to no country. Hence it is that, however deficient the English are as a race in artistic sympathy, India has to mourn it. Some of Art's greatest disciples—John Ruskin, to wit—have been British.

There is another consideration. Anyone familiar with the Sanchi Tope in Bhopal and its sculptures—by far the most interesting monument in India, and one that has constituted our *vade mecum* and guide for years, but not the oldest monument, as we shall seek to prove—there is much on this monument that arouses perplexing thoughts. And, by way of a side remark, we would observe that we hope that His Majesty George V., on his approaching visit to India, may find time to see this shrine, long an ancient abode of peace, for by far too much attention has been bestowed on Mahomedan remains by the late Sir John Strachey and Lord Curzon.

Delhi is a very ancient Hindu city, and it is also the Rome of India, full of memories and of stirring events; but its chief recommendation in the eyes of many is that it is associated with conquest, with deadly struggle, and with empire. Some horrible scenes have been enacted there,

as when the monster Nadir, Shah of Persia, singled out a numerous and hapless population for indiscriminate slaughter. No such horrible associations fill the mind of the stranger as he pitches his tent in the vicinity of the great Buddhist shrine of Sanchi. It is situated in the heart of a fine landscape, commanding all those fine effects made up by mountain or hill, by wood and stream, and adjacent to the stupa itself is a noble cluster of ancient trees, fitting objects of worship ; for it was the belief of the pious Hindu that they were the resort of the shades of the departed who visited them. The monks, both in East and West, had the happy custom of singling out spots for their retreats where the beauties of Nature blended with those of religion. Who does not know Dryburgh Abbey, where our great countryman Sir Walter Scott lies, and at the feet of whom lies his biographer and son-in-law, Lockhart ? And as he looks on the lovely woods that embosom Dryburgh on the Tweed, and a landscape skirted by the Eildon Hills, his natural exclamation is, "What a beautiful retreat for the monks!" Sanchi calls up similar feelings, and was for centuries an abode of peace, as Delhi was of war. The only occasions when the tranquillity was disturbed was when the persecuting Brahmans assailed the monks, who behaved like warriors, and showed immense spirit in the defence of the caskets. The steps leading up to the shrine, which is on a hill, are actually polished with the feet of the devout monks, who for ages made the ascent to take part in prayer and to take part in the great religious procession. On reaching the glacis, now the gates have been re-erected, you find yourself in company with the faithful portraits of men as they appeared in the flesh 3,000 years ago, and in all the busy hum of life, and your first exclamation is, "How little the Hindus have changed in these many years, in their dress, customs, or way of life!" You see the woman grinding her corn, as described in Isaiah ; the gardener watering his plants ; the maiden looking down far from her canopied gallery on a kingly procession, while using her

scent-bottle and arranging her hair with the aid of a hand-glass; and you see her convulsed with laughter as she listens to the stories of her lover, for in these days there was no purdah or seclusion of women. All this is related with such a captivating Hindu realism that we prefer it to the idealism of the Greek. Hellenic art is a joy for all time, but there was truth in the remark of Oliver Cromwell to young Lely: "Paint me as I am."

There is much to be commended in the noble sympathy that the Greek had for the person and moral character of the great teacher Buddha, who was worthy of his chisel; but when he invested the rather plebeian form of the sage in a manner a Hindu sculptor never would, with a Greek robe and a Greek mien, the Greek made a caricature of his own noble art, and demonstrated an experience we have always maintained—that the Greek and the Hindu, whatever they were originally, had come to be men of different races, and that the very highest European artist cannot interpret Hindu feeling, or give expression to the necessities of Hindu art. One of the alleged defects of the Hindus is that we have no history of them until the time of the Mahomedans. India can boast of no historians like Herodotus, Thucydides, or Livy. One apology for this is that the more imaginative character of the Hindu race delighted in metrical compositions; but the real one is that the Hindu on his monuments recorded every action of his daily life with a fidelity and precision only surpassed by his prodigal labour. It is with regret that we have to remark that the only comment on this labour was the remark of the philosopher Hegel, and reiterated by the late Sir J. M. Grant-Duff: "What a waste!" And the best reply to their materialistic idea was the noble one of a Hindu architect to ourselves: "Where man does not see God sees."

Among the very few pleasures we have had in life, one is that we have protested continuously against the destruction of Hindu hereditary art, whether in the lithic record or in the traditions of the family, community, and

guild, and this with a few others, unhappily now no more, such as F. S. Growse, C.I.E., the Hindi scholar, and long before Lord Curzon arrived in India or Sir G. Watt became an authority on native art. The manner in which Government allowed stately columns to be used for rollers on roads, Hindu temples to be used as coffee-shops, and palaces to be converted into grain-stores, is among the worst of our Indian souvenirs. Sanchi has other claims on our regard. While the beauty of the Taj, like the glory of the Parthenon, is stained by slave labour, it is the proud boast of both Buddhist and Jain shrines that they were the outcome of free labour and free, self-supporting communities. Sanchi itself is not old, and yet there is an aroma of age about some of its details in the buildings of the bas-reliefs. They instinctively remind us of Semper's great work, "Textiles: the Parent of Arts and Architectural Forms," and to which the historian of Eastern architecture did scant justice.

At Sanchi the "waggon roof" and the pinnacle, or spire, at once remind one of the nomad conveyance in which the unchangeable Hindu still travels, which has survived the iron horse, and which may survive the flying machine. Very little attention has been bestowed on the origin of architectural forms, save in some very apposite remarks of the late Mr. David Urquhart, M.P., on the "Sraddah," or ancestral sacrifice, which an American gentleman saw emanating from his favourite land, instead of being universal, as we all know. Another gentleman—this time, if I am not mistaken, an English missionary—thought that the cruciform ground-plan of the Govind Deva Temple at Mathura must have originated with Christian missionaries about Akbar's Court; whereas we know that this form, used in East and West, was in vogue at the primitive ancestral sacrifice! The same honest enthusiast took the statues of the Jain Thirtharkars, or hierarchs, on the Gwalior Fort, on account of their aureole, to be twelve Christian Apostles! We may add that the forms in use

in primitive times have held their own, whether they take the form of a square, an oblong, or a pyramid—have held their own throughout the ages, and have not been superseded by more progressive ones. The origin of architectural forms has been to us a subject of great interest for years, and also a puzzle; for living along the shores of Lake Lemán we have observed the peasant Swiss, not given to art, reproducing in his houses the beautiful lines of the mountains and adjacent landscape in its textile folds and curvilinear bends in their village churches and humble hamlets; and we have asked ourselves the question whether this unconscious reproduction on the part of the lowly peasant was the work of proud man, who is said to conquer Nature, or of the object world on man? One thing is evident—these forms are not confined to any particular country, and it is a delusion to say the many-storied houses of the Hindus were borrowed from Babylon because Babylon employed the same and took them from the steps of the mountain. Mountain worship is common in the popular religion of the Hindus at this hour, and the most esteemed sanctuaries of the Jains, whether on Mount Aboo or Gwalior, are all on hills or elevated ground. One of the Saviour's most celebrated discourses was the Sermon on the Mount, and there was a tradition that the Unity of the Godhead rested on the mountain. Why should India be deprived of a share in this belief?

We should be sorry to say when the tent first came into requisition, for we have observed its form on the hamlets of the very ancient race, the Todas of the Neilgherries. The idea that the Jews were the only ancient race that went about in a tented tabernacle seems to be erroneous, for another Semitic race, the Assyrians, set up something like a tabernacle in their marches; and to this day that very interesting and reputable body the Jains, whose history, we maintain, is still shrouded in mystery (and we were very intimate with the Jains when in Gwalior, where they were once powerful), still worship in tents. We

have in a "Guide-Book to Gwalior," which we would have improved, but have received no encouragement, described our intimacy with the sect through the possession of a crystal talisman.

As is well known, the Jains were the great bankers of India, and, holding the purse-strings, have enjoyed the friendship of all rulers who have borrowed money from them. Colonel Tod describes the favour and esteem they enjoyed with the Princes of Rajputana, and the Delhi Moslems, despite their horror of idolatry, no doubt made use of the Jains, who had a very beautiful temple in that city, but little visited. Our own Government, too, was not loath to accept the assistance of the Jains in the dark days of the Mutiny. An order from a Jain banker in Peshawar on Calcutta used to be like a letter credit from Coutts or Drummond. And if the Jains partake something of the character of the Vicars of Bray, they are a body of men worthy of the highest esteem. Moreover, it was a matter of regret to us that when our friend Mr. James Kennedy, late B.C.S., when writing in this *Review* so pleasantly on Ethics, but as if he held a brief for the Educational Department, on the improvement of Indian morality under Saxon civilization—an opinion we do not share—that he seemed unaware that the Jains have a code of morality which, while embodying all that is good in the Mosaic code, rises superior to it in some items, and is more akin to the Christian. The Jewish historian Graetz is distinctly wrong in saying that the Mosaic code was the first to proclaim the sanctity of life; for what about the Asoka Edicts, 240 B.C., those glorious beacons which contained a message of fraternity for all species? No morality rises higher than the Christian code, and yet it is a matter of wonder that our Sublime Teacher made no allusion to animals, when we think that the Jains had hospitals for them long before Christianity. The Hebrews may not have been worse than other races, but it was not a commendable thing to tie foxes' tails and then set fire to them! But our reference to the Jains is in

connection with the antiquity of the tent, the parent of architectural forms. At a Jain harvest-home, where we assisted in 1883, on the western side of the Gwalior Fort, this good people worshipped in a tent more like the Jewish tabernacle than anything else we have seen. And we observed at another Jain festival, north of Gwalior, on that occasion the tent was in the shape of an oblong exactly conforming to the remains of a Buddhist hall or chaitya at Sanchi, and which was in stone. The tent, as all must know, was in universal requisition in an Eastern country, and was the motive of the Chinese and Japanese house. But while many of our readers may be conversant with Megasthenes' allusion to a body who wandered about in tents when he was Greek Ambassador at the Court of Patna, 250 B.C., and to the fact that many Indian cities, like those in Europe, were formed out of camps—and the first Indian cities were non-Aryan—very few are acquainted with the fact that the roofs of the Todas' houses on the Neilgherry Hills take the form of a tent. Indians owe an immense deal to British monumental work, and they would owe much more if our rule was not so expensive. For this reason, as among those who have protested against the destruction of indigenous arts and the economical character of many indigenous ideas, if we point out that not the least pleasing association we have of the great Sanchi Stupa is the well-clothed, well-nurtured, and happy faces that still look down upon us from that monument; for they are the best contradiction to a remark we once read of Principal Caird, of Glasgow, founded on hearsay evidence, that Buddhism did little for the material or moral elevation of the Hindus.

Were we to discuss the antiquity and originality of Hindu civilization in all its bearings, we should be committed to a field of investigation traversing, we may say, not one, but all the arts, and, however fitting for a large volume, one entirely beyond the scope of this presentment. It is no disrespect to the memory of an eminent specialist

and doctrinaire, the historian of Eastern architecture, who was a sort of *facile princeps* in his own glorious art, if we suggest that he had not given that attention to Indian arts as a whole, especially the subordinate arts, as would make his authority unimpeachable. He was, as we all know, a doctrinaire with certain strong opinions as to the evolution of Indian architecture from wooden form, and to this he resolutely adhered. Having experienced the kindness of Dr. Fergusson and his support, we incautiously wrote to him that we had been reading the work of the great French architect, Viollet-le-Duc, and thought that his remark that material and its employment would depend much on whether the district were a timber or stone one as a very common-sense observation! It had been suggested to us by our experience in Central India, where we had met stone buildings without a particle of wood in them. Needless to add, in a postscript to a kind letter we received a reply to our incautious remark in truly Johnsonese style! The history of Indian civilization was at one time greatly prejudiced, owing to opinions being entirely founded on the researches of philology, and this led to a well-known philologist, Dr. Isaak Taylor, combating the remarkable conclusions of Professor Max Müller about kinship with our Aryan brother, and which has given rise to a very questionable superstructure of opinion. It is only lately that ethnologists have had a say in the matter, for it is quite *en règle* for the followers of the Sanskrit professor to refer to Aryan communities, Aryan arts, and Aryan religion, even if in the eyes of many Aryan religion in India has a strong flavour of being to a large extent evolved out of an indigenous substratum. One rarely meets with scholars who come under the name of Admirable Crichtons, or generally endowed all round. We bow to none in our veneration for Sir Alexander Cunningham, who, alas! has left no successor. He spoke with a personal knowledge of India which few have, and it is pleasant to turn to his authority in presence of dilettante observers, who

absorb attention, but are in reality sweaters, writing on second-hand information, and not much better than those who resort to the British Museum to read up a subject for the public press. General Cunningham was a reputed Pali scholar and one of the first authorities on Indian coinage, but we fear he had little sympathy with art; and while a menhir or cromlech, or the maiden stone in Scotland, or a search into an obscure Hindu dynasty, would have arrested his attention, we fear he had little taste to linger over the beauties of the Taj. In this respect he was no worse than Lord Avebury, who introduced a Bill into the House of Commons for the protection of "rude monuments," but had no eye to the care of our glorious medieval cathedrals. Hence we need not wonder that General Cunningham should have agreed with Dr. Fergusson in the extraordinary opinion, for which there is not a vestige of foundation, "that the Greeks taught the Hindus sculpture." We should have thought that the whole history of idolatry in Asia (the Jews carried about with them household gods), together with the history of pantheism in Egypt and India, would have negatived such an opinion. We lay stress on Egypt and India, for there, however degrading, the people worshipped animals, a degradation from which both the Jews and Greeks had been exempt. Naturally we sympathize with the Jains, who had hospitals for animals long before the advent of Christianity, and have often thought that the Jewish historian Graetz goes too far in saying that the Mosaic code was the first "to affirm the sanctity of human life." What about the edicts of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka, who in 250 B.C. engraved on noble beacons a message of fraternity to all species? We may even wonder that our own great Exemplar gave no injunctions for kindness to the lower species. We think it quite possible that some of our own Western altruism has been borrowed from India—not that we are quite in accord with some of its developments.

Speaking, however, generally, when we think of the

tendency of the human mind to make an image of some person, and when we think of the history of anthropomorphism, of local and national gods, we are the more astounded at the opinion of Dr. Fergusson and General Cunningham. The potter makes himself a god in rice, and pathetically begs that he will not forsake him. We can quite understand Goethe's sympathy with the silversmith of Demetrius when St. Paul threatened his trade, but we cannot understand the opinion of our friends. What Sir Henry Renouf, the Egyptologist, said of Egypt is equally true of India, seeing that from the earliest time it has been a land of gods; and, with the exception of a few sculptures at Sanchi, the work of Bactrian Greeks, all the others are the work of Hindus. Besides, the Indian maneless lion and the Greek are not the same, while Hindu realism and Greek idealism are absolutely different.

The "Dying Sage" recovered from the Jumna, and so much praised by Jacquemart is a testimony to Hindu sculpture. As to the historian of architecture's general statement in discounting the "antiquity and originality of Indian civilization," we think it will barely stand analysis. He declares that India is not to be found on the hieroglyphics of Thebes or Nineveh, but omits the reference to it in the Bible (*vide* the Book of Esther). We put it again: Imagine a continent with a geographical position like India, with splendid physical features, and with equally fine natural resources in products, included by Bastian in his zone of culture unknown to the ancient world. Why, she and her commerce was so well known that she was looked upon as a species of El Dorado for all sort of races, so that Negroid, Australoid, Mongoloid, or rather Tartar, and Aryan flocked to her soil. It is true that Alexander's conquests were the first to excite the cupidity of the West, and this when no one knew or thought of even dreaming about the New World. As well say that the mines of Siberia or the copper ones of Egypt were unknown. The remark, however, is explicable when

we think that it is only recently that the true history of Solomon's mines or the gold of Ophir has been made known. Dr. Fergusson was scarcely happy when he invited attention to the fact that Hindus were still working at stone circles such as the great colonnade of Sanchi when the Greeks had erected the Parthenon. People overlook that India travels at a much slower rate than Europe, and that, unlike Europe, she does not abandon an old material or an old form because she has discovered something new. We agree with the historian that Brahman traditions are not to be trusted, as witness the manner Manu has misrepresented the status of women. They are entitled to our respect for their philosophy, and as the custodians of art traditions, but not as having discovered the arts, or even in having propounded the laws, for a great deal appropriated by Aryan law is common to the non-Aryan as well as the Aryan. At the same time, when Dr. Fergusson ridicules the statement of the Ramayan or epic with its flourishing account of Indian art 1200 B.C., he had not heard of Dr. Schliemann's discovery of Troy, and of how the effort of Grote to prove it a fable had entirely failed, so that much of his first volume on Greece is valueless.

We have said more than we intended or have a right to say, but we must not omit to say something about the origin of architectural forms. When residing along the shores of Lake Lemman we have been impressed with the manner in which the hard-working Swiss peasant unconsciously reproduces in his village churches and hamlets the beautiful curvilinear lines or textile folds of the adjacent mountains; for he has not time to think much about art, nor would his best friend credit him with a taste for it, although he cannot be indifferent to his beautiful country and its equally beautiful flora.

Many people charge the Hindu with copying the many-storied houses of the Babylonians, but why use the word "copy"? Both worshipped the mountain, on which the Unity of the Godhead was supposed to rest. And it was

there that the predecessors of the Persians, the Hindus and Pelasgians, forerunners of the Hindus, resorted "to worship a God in a temple not made with hands." We cannot explain how what is called certain Assyrianisms and Persianisms found their way on the Sanchi monument, and originated the calumny that it was the practice of the Hindus to borrow from all quarters. This was far more true of Assyria, and Persia is of the first who borrowed its civilization from Babylon and the latter from Assyria, but not of the Hindu. As part of Persian India, it is impossible to say what the officials of the Empire would do when we remember what a medley of soldiers of various nations, including Hindus, accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. Far more profitable and more to our purpose is it to note—and we speak from a long study of the arts of India and of foreign influence in that country—is that it resolves itself into three categories: nil, transient, and destructive. Outside a few applied sciences, what has the Hindu borrowed from Europe in past centuries? Moreover, it is in the experience of everyone who has studied the history of Egypt, India, or Greece, that the moment these countries came into contact with their surroundings they evolved an art purely Egyptian, Indian, and Grecian. Nor is it altogether correct on the part of Sir Henry Maine to have written that Greece is the only country where art was endemic. We must not judge India by our own Saxon civilization, which borrowed from all quarters, and has been doing so in modern times, as witness Archbishop Trench's "*Slang Dictionary*." We are the authors of a great and monumental work in India, but our fatal mistake has been to undervalue indigenous power. The Romans thought they had destroyed it in Algeria, ancient Mauritania, but look at the country now, where the indigenous arts thrive better than the imported ones. Our matured conviction is that India is the seat of a very ancient civilization, and whether we look at its sociology, its psychology, its arts, its moral, religious, or philosophical ideas, we see traits

of much originality. On the future of the country we can offer no opinion, but we feel assured that, if we wish to retain the country, the brightest jewel of the British Crown, we must not be satisfied with repressory measures, but try to understand better the people and their ways, and, in the words of His Majesty King George V., show more sympathy. Recent troubles have been lamentable, and we cannot afford to part with either the eastern trade or what constitutes "the brightest jewel of the British crown." And the troubles are more to be regretted as late decades are full of noble endeavour on the part of the Pax Britannica to do justice to the Indian people.

To a certain extent these troubles are inevitable and irrevocable, and their cause has been well described, in the language of the poet of the British Empire, Mr. Rudyard Kipling: "We live on an ocean of misunderstanding"—a very happy and philosophic phrase that may be applied to all conditions of life, whether it be the union of husband and wife or the union of peoples. British virtues are many, but as a race we are not an adaptable one, like the Greeks, unless our countrymen north of the Tweed, who generally succeed well abroad, should prefer a claim to that title. An apology for this may be found in differences of race, manners, customs, and religion, but not to the extent advanced. And we are afraid that Western civilization itself, by creating a feeling of detachment, is in some ways responsible for an unhappy experience. We do not agree with Macpherson in his annals of commerce that the retiring Indian officer did not care what became of India when he quitted the country. This *prima facie* is untrue for he had to look to his pension, although there may be some truth in the allegation that not a few at the present day go to India chiefly to obtain a pension! Western bureaucratic government has done a good deal to destroy the mutual goodwill of Europeans and natives.

But we have another reason shadowed by the excellent missionary Sherring, of Benares, when he laments how few

officials took the slightest interest in the lithic record of India or the arts of the people. Bacon says, "No one has an entry into a country until he knows the language"; but it would have been better to say until he had studied the lithic record of the country, and in discounting that India ever had a civilization of her own.

The value of Indian monuments or archæology is that it not only gives you the most faithful insight into the manners, customs, ideas, and thoughts of the people, but it records with a labour incredibly prodigal their daily life as more realistic than that of the most accomplished historian, be he a Tacitus or a Livy.

We have known injustice done to the feelings of the Hindus, from the simple fact that few have observed how they use the flexor instead of the extensor muscles.

At the present moment, while we agree with those who deprecate a hesitating mode of dealing with crime as exhibiting ignorance of native characters, which is a worship of spiritualism or power, we equally disagree with the Jingo press that shouts for repressive measures. It is not given to most of us to feel with the Abbé Dubois, another noble missionary, who, in contemplating the receding shores, expressed with emotion a wish to return, but to re-echo the wish of His Majesty George V. What is wanted is a more intelligent sympathy in all that lies near the heart and feelings of a very ancient people. Men like Metcalfe of Delhi, Henry Lawrence of the Punjab, Outram of Scindh, are still names to conjure with, and whose memory blossoms in the dust. Nor can it be forgotten that Warren Hastings himself was as much liked by the Indian populace as the Emperor Akbar himself.

RACE: WHO ARE THE HINDUS?

BY MAJOR J. B. KEITH,

Formerly of the Indian Archaeological Survey.

"Each circumstance concurs in proving that all mankind are not composed of species essentially different from each other. On the contrary, there was originally but one species, which, after multiplying and spreading over the whole surface of the earth, has undergone various changes by the influence of climate, food, mode of life, epidemic disease, and the mixture of dissimilar individuals."—BURTON'S "History of Animals," vol. iii., p. 446.

WHO are the Hindus? is a question that has continually recurred to our minds during years of sojourn in India and in years spent out of it. Did they come of an Aryan race, or are they a *mélange* made up of many races, formed on what may be called on an aboriginal, or rather indigenous, substratum? For at one time there was a dark race who occupied the entire continent of India, and this has been recruited from many quarters with immigrants, which have included men of Australoid, Negroid, Mongoloid, or Tartar blood. And with the question just posed there has supervened another. The Asiatic and European race may have come of one original stock, as we believe, for we are not polygenists; but, through acquired characters and the influence of a different *milieu ambiant* over long periods of time, they have become two distinct races, with different activities, and this we find in some of the lower animals, as in the *Bos Indicus* and in the *Bos taurus*. We account it phenomenal that Western races,

from the time of the Greeks and Romans down to ourselves, have been unable to acclimatize themselves in their Eastern possessions, establish colonies for any length of time, impose their arts or transmit their posterity. The Greeks and Romans are an illustration in evidence, and they destroyed the arts of Egypt as well as those found in ancient Mauritania. All this is suggestive of two heredities, and this is an important item in considering some aspects of Western civilization in India. By two heredities we mean that the nature of the climate being more uniform in India than in Europe—and this it has been since the Glacial Age—it acts there with a more resistless force than in the West, where people seem to change their habits and customs with the season. In India immemorial custom has been called “transcendent law.” But before we proceed farther a word of explanation is necessary. To traverse our subject in all its side-lights we should require a monograph upon race itself, or at least a lengthened dissertation, and this would require a knowledge of the lower races and of many sciences, such as biology, zoology, physiology, morphology, and anthropology. We have elsewhere expressed, and this to our infinite regret, that we have been unable to consider the psychology of the Hindus in its diversified aspect, for this in itself is an immense subject, and would require all the art of an expert philologist; and yet any notice of a race without some reference to its mentality discloses a want in the evidence produced. Our surprise is that no one has undertaken the task, more especially as the chief presentation—and, we say it with all apology, a fallacious presentation—has been based on language and to the neglect of ethnology. Too much also has been made of that law of universality which sees the human mind, when the conditions are the same, identical “under every age and clime,” and to the neglect of that law of diversity which sees the Hindu doing everything in a different way from a European, and looking at every question from an opposite point of view.

Upon many of the subjects raised we may not be entitled to an opinion, but when we read in the work of an eminent anthropologist, M. de Quatrefages, that physiologically the only difference between a Hindu and European is confined to circulation and respiration, we have often wondered whether this is actually the case under the influence of food and difference in the way of life. The lachrymose habit is not the same, nor are his emotions altogether the same. It gives some idea of the difficulties which surround such a subject as the one at which we only purport to take a side-glance if we only mention such controversies as the unity or non-unity of the human race, or monogenism and polygenism, has produced, and which gather on opposite sides many scientists of note, including philologists and ethnologists, as well as anthropologists of great reputation. Then, there is a manifest attraction in the declaration that when the lower and higher races are first found they are seen occupying well-defined geographical and climatic zones. For ourselves, we are convinced believers in the unity of the human race, as seen not merely in structure, in numerous migrations, in the absence in India of what is called autochthonous or indigene races, for the oldest races in that country, including the Todas of the Neilgherries, as also the Gonds and Kols of Central India, generally classified as aborigines, but whom we know to have been immigrants and tent wanderers.

The contour of a Todas hamlet is like that of a tent, and as for the Gonds, who introduced iron into India, it is well known that they came from a trans-Himalayan country. Again, the formation of new races down to the latest—the Anglo-American—bears out the doctrine of unity. But when we go into the problem of race the difficulties that surround us are immense, and what more so the origin of life and the distribution of species. Darwin, with that characteristic honesty that belonged to so great a scientist, owned that the origin of life was beyond him; and yet, so far as the lower life is concerned, there are men in Europe.

who at this hour are striving to revive the idea of spontaneous generation, which, according to the Hindu laws of Manu, was once a belief cherished by the Hindus, and explicable to anyone who has watched the myriads of curious beings who gather on the dining-table under that warm, moist heat of a Malabar monsoon.

But to inquire of the origin of life outside revelation, we may as well ask an explanation how it is that a grain of corn, after being hid in an Egyptian tomb for years, springs immediately into life when brought in contact with Mother Earth, whom the ancients worshipped as a deity, and was called the aboriginal womb.

Most that we have desired to say on the evolutionary creed we have said under the data of environment. Here we have only to remark that, whether an improved hypothesis or not of that which makes out that man is descended from an irrational animal, it has become the creed of all modern educational departments, and so cannot be dissociated from race problems. We like Darwinism in so far as it accentuates the importance of environment and progress, but we are not surprised at the reaction setting in against it; for India and the Hindus present phenomena of a very contradictory kind, and show races that have made comparatively little progress, or progress on a much slower plane to that of Europe. Among the items that add perplexity to the race problem, what more so than the "cradle of the human race," which has given rise to so many discussions, chiefly caused because so little attention has been bestowed on the history of climate at different periods of the world's history? By one writer (Bailey) Siberia was looked upon as a hive of the human race and the home of so many fine animals; we have seen a lengthened argument for America; and then comes Darwin's argument for Africa. We think the last presents more obstacles than any, for how was the race to distribute and from sub-races, the finest type of which is found in the Apollo Belvidere of the Greeks? The monogenist and

polygenist controversy is well illustrated if we come to ask ourselves the questions who were the ancient Egyptians, and who the native Indians. Many Egyptologists have sought to make out that the people of the Nile were of Asiatic origin, whereas one of the latest and one of the best Egyptian authorities, Maspero, holds that the Egyptians from time immemorial have been associated with the Delta of the Nile. But, as if these speculations were not enough, an agreeable writer (Donnelly) revives the story of a lost Atlantic continent, which was believed in during the time of Aristotle, and the nucleus of the Egyptian civilization is supposed to have been formed out of escaped refugees from that continent, and this would explain why the Egyptians are, comparatively speaking, white in colour. But this theory, we think, is annihilated by the attempt to prove a lost continent in the Eastern ocean. We once met an interesting gentleman, himself a University graduate and the son of a Rabbi, who was full of this idea, and, being an Israelite, was anxious to uphold the account of Genesis. He accordingly saw in Australia the remnants of a defunct continent, which may have been destroyed by a convulsion of Nature, and in the degenerate aborigines the descendants of those who had tried to escape. But this plausible theory Professor James Geikie and Dr. A. R. Wallace have completely refuted. These well-known savants have demonstrated that oceans and continents have preserved the place they have occupied since the commencement of time, and are not interchangeable, as another eminent scientist, the late Sir Charles Lyell, at one time proclaimed they were. At the same time, India was a long way prolonged into the Southern Ocean, and there must have been large tracts of land to admit of migrations. This is the opinion of Dr. Lydeker, the zoologist, and to any who have followed the intercourse of races under different geographical conditions, particularly the African and Indian, it seems a sound one.

Not a few people take an interest in the native American

race, and for various reasons. Their primitive communities, and some of the wise maxims that prevailed in regard to morality and truth, which we hope to refer to in another article, under *The Family*, cannot be improved upon, and because there is a general opinion that these people, the natural landlords of the soil, have been badly treated, if not quite on the principle that the black rat ought to oust the red one. For our page they have a double interest, because we see in their institution a close affinity with the non-Aryans of India, many of whom, we believe, were Mongoloids by origin. Various attempts have been made to explain their racial affinities, but the most astounding of all was that propounded by Lord Kingsborough, who tried to make out that they were Jews. The history of that race has been a romantic and sad one, and it would ill become us to say anything derogatory of the race from whom we derive our religion and produced Him who is our Light and our Hope. But this does not prevent us saying that because the Jews once had the belief that they were to conquer and subdue the world, an immense amount of foolish story has gathered around their history. As well known, they were an obscure offshoot of the great Semitic race; but neither this nor the circumstance that they evolved no particular industry or art, and lived, as Sir R. Burton has written, on the arts of others—neither this nor a doubtful morality from the time of Rameses II. of Egypt, deprives them of the right to be the inheritors of the law and the prophets. Nay, there may be some truth in the remark of a clergyman in his sermon—because they were all this they were specially chosen.

We have no Hebrew or racial prejudice, and think that since their emancipation and the opening of European Universities to the Jews, they have shown no mean talent in the arts of government and science. Nevertheless, it is an error to distort history, and in trying to make out that the Jews were a race as cosmopolitan as sparrows, and capable of being acclimatized in any country—which is not the

case, as witness the Cochin Jews in Southern India—an egregious error has been committed. Now they are spreading in all countries, especially those where commerce is considerable and banks are safe, but until comparatively recent times they were not a world-diffused race. The Afghans, no doubt, are Jews, but we have met very few Jews in India, and the number who established themselves in Southern India on the dawn of Christianity was a mere bagatelle, and their number was confined to a few adventurers from the Levant, who, rising from the grade of hucksters selling tobacco to European soldiers and illicit arrack to natives, were enabled to retire on princely fortunes. There has been a sprinkling of Armenians in the Presidency towns, as diamond merchants, etc., and they might be taken, both in features and dexterity, for members of the favoured race. For ages the chief home of the Jews was to be found on the littoral of the Mediterranean, near which we believe to be the cradle of the Semitic race.

We do not know what misled Lord Kingsborough, unless it was the rather prominent nose of many of the American race; but as races consist of aggregates of individuals, many of whom have intermarried, we look upon the nasal criterion as a very unreliable one, for we have met German Jews and those of other nations who have no prominent noses. But we shall take an opportunity in our after-remarks to say more about physical features, for we think that the nasal organ of the Imperial Cæsars, the nose of the Bourbons, and the lips of the Hapsburgs have had their physical features in heredity very much exaggerated. Most inquirers who have gone into the history of the Redskins believe them to be the descendants of Eastern Mongolians, who crossed over to America by Behring Straits, under different geographical conditions, in the Quaternary period of history. If this is the case, then their physical features during vast æons of time must have undergone change, for the Mongolians are represented to have rather depressed noses and oblique eyes. The

features, therefore, are not a constant factor in the history of race. The other school of ethnologists is of opinion that the American native races have always occupied that continent, and are to be found at this day both on lowlands and highlands. Our reference to the Jews would not be complete if we did not notice the absurd story once circulated and sought to be perpetuated by a paper called the *Banner of Israel*, which tried to make out that the Saxons were the descendants of the lost tribe. It is easy to understand how this error was propagated. Owing to the liberality of its laws, the persecuted Hebrew found a retreat in England, where he is now to be found in great numbers, and commanding, as middlemen, the avenues of commerce—viz., as shopkeepers, bankers, or financiers—and at the present moment enjoying a monopoly, for both the Press and literature are in his hands.

Between the Saxon and Jew there is a certain likeness, but it is one brought about not so much by race as by surroundings, which, if not identical, have produced some similar characters. Thus the Jew is an individualist and progressionist, and so, too, the Saxon, while circumstances have made them both wanderers. It was the Jew's belief at one time that his civilization was to go over the world, and until the irrepressible Pan-German intervened it was the boast of the Saxon that the sun never set on his dominions.

Our idea may be perfectly fanciful, but we have had the temerity to record it. To which ever side we turn, we find the race problem honeycombed with many issues and many contradictions, and even while we write the air continues to vibrate with all sort of cries, in which we hear the words "Races superior *per se*," "Races with a special destiny and bound to prevail"; and we also listen to such phrases as "the union of English and Latin-speaking races," forgetful that it is material interests more than anything else that determine alliances and the rôle of races. In the Triple Alliance of Europe we have at the present moment three distinct

racés—the German, the Slav, and the Italian. The interests of France point in the direction of England and Russia. Our Government, very properly, would not allow the despatch of native troops from India to fight against the Dutch in the Transvaal, but they gladly formed an alliance with the Japanese in the East against Russia. For a long time there used to be a cry of decadent races—not always a just one when we think of what constitutes the vitality of some races, such as its family life. Fifteen years ago, at a debating society, we heard China described as “putrid and ready to be partitioned”; and yet the reawakening of that country and the possible future of the yellow people—a branch of the great Turanian race, with whom civilization emanated in Babylon—is one of the topics of the hour.

The world abounds in fallacies, but there are no fallacies so virulent or mischievous as racial. All sorts of evidence is appealed to in order to give them strength and support. First in order are the physical features of the people: the colour of their skin; the shape of their head, whether dolichocephalic or brachycephalic; the size and shape of their nose; colour of their eye; size of their hands and feet; protrusion of their lips, are all brought forward as indications of race, of superiority and inferiority. The aversion of many to dark people, especially among our countrymen in India, is very great, and the opprobrious term of “nigger” is used; but we forget that Krishna, to whom was revealed the Supreme God, and of whom we read in the great Indian epic, the “Mahabharata,” was a black man—at all events, his traditional portraits represent him as such. Judging, also, from the pictures we have seen of St. Augustine, the great luminary of the West, he too was a black man. Colour prejudice is not quite so strong in England among the ladies, when a handsome Rajput Prince, or even a Bengalee, makes his appearance; nor do they object to those lustrous and piercing eyes which tell so favourably of the industrial arts of India. The Sanskrit commentators represent the Aryan invaders as having a strong prejudice about colour.

Some think that an immense deal depends on the form and size of the head, but outside those with recessed foreheads we have met many men with the most extraordinarily shaped heads, and yet endowed with great brain power. Blaise Pascal had a small head. It was a very unhappy expression on the part of the late Sir W. W. Hunter—viz., "the snub-nosed Mongolians," in opposition to his favourite Bengalees, with Apollo-looking features; and had he thought of our future allies, he would never have used it. Besides, he was forgetful of the part the Mongoloid nose played in history, to which we will presently advert; nor did he seem to know that all portraits of Buddha, whether found in paintings, sculptures, or coins, represent him as a Mongolian. Races are, after all, aggregates of individuals; and how many queer and indescribable kinds of noses have we met in our lifetime, from the *retroussé* to the Bourbon shape!

A small ear is a singularly beautiful and delicate organ, more especially as the appendage of a lovely woman, but it is to be met among all races. The same is true of handsome feet, in which there is as much character as in any other portion of the human body; but when so much is due to use and disuse, it is not easy to particularize races with well-shaped or badly-shaped feet. The splay foot of the Egyptian and Hindu are well known; so, too, the inhabitant of the Lincolnshire fens; while the Cornish women, who in a trio might pass for the Graces, cannot boast of either her hands or feet as constituting her finest physical points.

Among mountain races very small feet are often to be found, as with the people in the Caucasian Mountains, and so, too, again, among people of mixed races, as among Creoles, the Maltese, and members of the Anglo-American race. Our countrymen are not so well favoured in the matter of feet as in other parts of their physique. When we consider the freaks of heredity, it is not easy to determine physical characters; but we feel that the land

and climate, food, and way of life exercise a predominant part in their determination. Anyway, we can afford to be charitable when, stepping outside, we recognize in the lower creation, whether ugly or beautiful, very close likenesses to some of our most esteemed friends. The expressions "an eagle," or "well-cut face" or "a sheepish face" is frequently in use, and so, too, that of "a fox-like" or cunning cast of countenance. Still more curious is the experience that connects some of the finest physical types, whether masculine or feminine, with the most cruel people in history, as the Assyrian, who, again, bears a strong resemblance to the falcon or bird of prey.

So much for physical features, which are widely diffused. We do not undertake to discuss a question of such wide proportions as the Aryan origin of a portion of the Indian race or the arguments for an Indo-European one. These, pro and con, have assumed a voluminous shape. The older English scholars, who have placed us under an everlasting debt for what we know of India—men like Sir William Jones, Wilson, Colebrooke, and a legion of able men who have formed the opinions of English historians—were all of opinion that the Indians and Greeks were of the same Aryan race, and that the cradle of that race was in Asia.

Moreover, when we consider that in historic times there was a constant migration in the Europe direction, that the majority of plants and animals that passed into Europe emanated from the East, that European languages are chiefly derived from the Sanskrit, and that between Greek and Indian literature, more especially in the epics and philosophy, there is a strong resemblance, there was not a little to warrant the opinions first formed; and they found not only popular adhesion in the times to which we refer, but were endorsed by such German scholars as Lassen, Schlegel, and other famous men. And in later times a long-established belief received a dramatic expression when Max Müller announced that the Hindu, Greek, Frank, Dane

and Englishman were all Aryan brethren, and at one time their ancestors occupied a common habitat.

We question ourselves, from the incident we have related describing the enthusiasm with which some European enthusiasts fled to India to welcome their long-lost Aryan brother, whether the Hindus themselves as a body ever held Max Müller's opinions; but they came to be seriously disputed when philologists such as Canon Isaac Taylor, Professors Whitney and Swete, entered a caveat of dissent, to say nothing of many ethnologists; and of late years there has been an increasing legion of sceptics. But the old and more general belief has not been altogether shaken, as anyone conversant with opinion must know. Men like Émile Burnouf, when contrasting Aryan and Semitical ideas, are always ready to demonstrate what Europe owes to India and the Aryan race; and the Professor of Metaphysics at Kiel, Dr. Paul Dreussen, in recent lectures on the Vedanta philosophy, has echoed the same thought. Nor do we place ourselves for a moment in opposition to the same thought, but, on the contrary, have in our introduction expressed our agreement with it. How comes it that the German and Scotch, both members of the same Aryan race, according to Max Müller, should take a greater delight in the abstract and metaphysical than his English neighbour? To the sensational school of philosophy we are not wedded, nor are we materialists, but we do say that the physical surroundings colour our thoughts as well as our feelings; and having pointed to Aberdeen and its neighbourhood as having produced the forebears of Kant, and such hard-headed reasoners as Professor Bain, while deficient in men of artistic temperament, devoted to works of imagination, we are much more entitled to show that the land of India and its climate were well calculated to produce those habits of attention, contemplation, and reflection that we find in the Indian sage who retired to the cave and the forest to meditate over the mysteries of life, and who believed that the supernatural was to be found in the

natural. In order to sustain the Aryan theory, not only have the component parts, or the sub-races that compose the population, been appealed to, but the testimony of language, literature, the industrial and sumptuary arts, sociology, as found in the communities, has been asked for the same.

The racial elements that form the population we will refer to last, and this because we can speak personally of the lithic monuments and what they reveal from having conserved them as species of evidence not open to the first investigators.

To resolve the sub-races of a population and analyze their ethnic characters is at all times an almost hopeless task; for, notwithstanding that most of them in India are associated with a certain province or land, such as the Bengalees, the Rajputs, the Mahrattas, and the Punjaubees—and it would have been an easy matter of identity if they had always been there—their prior and inherited history is not so easy to determine, for all races are more or less mixed, so that it is impossible to say what qualities come from the land and what from inheritance.

An antiquarian in Scotland is astounded to find, not only Scandinavian and Celtic remains, but Turanian skulls and Turanian ornaments. He finds a Celtic race, but the same people are found in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, and other portions of the European continent. Their figure and mien, habits and customs, may be put down to the climate, food, as well as way of life, in the country where we find them; but we find other characteristics, such as excitability, courage, devotion, hospitality, which often distinguish them from their neighbours of other races, and with these eminent virtues a certain amount of unreliability. We cannot tell how they came by their speech, but their accent is racy of the soil. From the dress of the Highlanders we gather little, for if, with Planché, in his essay on dress, we number them among the "untrowsered," it is impossible to tell from where they came, for Indian tribes, as seen on the Buddhist monument at Sanchi, not only wear kilts, but play a species of bagpipe. Religion is very

often brought into court by way of enabling us to identify ethnic traits; but as the religion of a people more often depends on political circumstances than anything else, it is an unreliable and unsafe test, as when men speak of an Aryan religion common to both the Hindus and Greeks. Under the law of universality many of their myths were bound to be similar, for all mythology is composed of a few leading ideas due to deifying the powers of Nature. But myths may be found in India that are not found in Greece, and which we have met with in Gwalior, as that of the forbidden fruit, and one akin to Jonah in the whale's belly, and both of which may have come from Babylon, which supplied the Hindu Pantheon with female energies, and, according to some, supplied Genesis with its account of Creation. But nothing could have been more unlike in reality than the attributes of the gods in the Greek and Hindu creations. One were artistic creations seeking to deify manhood, and the other, had it been possible, would have made their gods something more than men in supernatural beings. The hymns known as Vedic, such as that to the dawn and others, sung by the Hindu colonists on the banks of the Indus, are no doubt Aryan; but not a few, including those who have written on the popular religion of India, look on the greater part of the Hindu religion, formed as it has been of non-Aryan concepts, of Nature-worship, of ancestral deities and local gods, to have been evolved on the soil of India, and not due to foreign influence.

Language, as everyone knows, is no criterion of race, however much it may indicate an advanced civilization; but there are two or three points about the Aryan, or Sanskrit, language that deserve to be recollected. At one time it was thought, and the belief shared in by many, that the Indo-Aryans brought with them to the banks of the Indus a certain amount of civilization, with a matured language, industry, and arts; and we all know nothing develops a language more than the knowledge of industrial products. But on inquiry being made, it was discovered that the Indo-

Aryans of the Indus were nothing else than nomads, whose vocabulary had no words for agriculture, for minerals, or the sea. These arts they apparently learned from a people whom they are represented in after-years as contemning or despising.

So well did the Aryan belief take hold of English minds on our first occupation of India that English judges are represented as searching for Aryan concepts in Hindu law; and Nelson, in his scientific examination of the same, interpreted by Mr. Mayne, the Madras jurist, shows how ideas supposed to be Aryan were common to non-Aryan as well as Aryan. Unfortunately, Indian sociology, which has more points of interest than that of any other, has been represented by Fustel de Callounges in his "*Cité Antique*" as if the Indian family and the Indian community were the special outcome of the Aryan race, and the likeness of the Indian family, in its customs and sacrifices, to the Roman institution has been emphasized.

Here again ancestral worship in its universal aspect has been ignored, just as in the case of the non-Aryan village community, and the view taken by the French sociologist seemingly had the approbation of Sir Henry Maine. But as these items will occupy our attention elsewhere, we need not enlarge upon them in this place; enough if we add that the discovery of Indian products, together with the evolution of Indian arts and sciences, were all relegated to the Aryans, who even represented Indian workmen as of Aryan origin, and so, too, Indian cities. Until the Aryans arrived the arts had made no advance, although we know that agriculture, the parent of so many useful arts, must have made no little progress. India had been in constant communication with Babylonian civilization, the mother and home of so many arts, and this at a time when the Aryan colonists could have made very little progress in Northern India. A Dravidian race had long existed in the South, with a history we are yet imperfectly acquainted with, and an architecture of no little antiquity,

and having forms very much akin to those we find in Egypt. We have followed this race far up into Northern India, and we shall be prepared to show from the Buddhist monuments that the Tartars, or Mongolians, had no little to do with the early history of Indian civilization, and while doing so will recall the wide geographical distribution of the Mongolians in ancient times. But with the very mixed character of races in those days, and the formation of so many sub-races associated for many centuries with particular geographical districts, and called after the countries they have occupied, it is extremely difficult to proclaim their ethnic origin. In Babylon we find two races—the Accadian and Semitic—we would prefer to substitute the word “Mongolian” for “Accadian”—if the industrial arts, such as engraved seals and tombs like a Buddhist tope, are to be taken as evidence. These two races, as we all know, fused. The Persians have always been looked upon as Aryan, and a singularly handsome type of the race, although we think their good looks came from the surroundings. We are inclined to think they may have had an admixture of the Mongol, and it is known that Cyrus, the first of the Persian Dynasty, belonged to that race. Herodotus records that in his time there were very few Aryans in Asia.

We may, in passing, observe as a singular circumstance that the Indian Parsees, described as the only representatives of the ancient Persians, are of all sections of the Indian community the most attached to Western institutions; but this may have something to do with their commercial instincts, which are very much akin to those of the Hebrews. Attempts to unravel the tangled web of Indian races have not been facilitated by the Hindu constitution and caste system; for, however much we admire it as a masterpiece of political wisdom, it does not help us to determine the Aryan controversy or say who are Aryans and who are not Aryans. Virtually it represents what is known as Hinduism, and this has been described as a geographical expression,

a race and a religion. From time to time, as the various tribes entered India, they were admitted into this system, and through process of conversion became Hindus—at all events, in faith—and had to submit to the rules imposed by the system. This took place with the Rajputs, who boast of great antiquity, and carry with them such high-sounding titles as the Solar and Lunar Races. From their features, as well as from some of their customs, we have long doubted their right to be called Aryans, but into these we will not go for the moment. At this very day the Brahmans are absorbing into the Hindu religion many of the lower representatives of the non-Aryan race, and to the confusion of Christian missionaries. By the means of proselytism many of the workmen of India—and here we are on ground on which we can speak with some knowledge, for we inquired into their ethnic origin and found them nearly all non-Aryans. We need not particularize them, but will content ourselves with observing that the workers in textiles, in timber and stone, as well as the miners, were all members of the older or Turanian race, so that we can answer the question that was put by an interesting authoress who wrote on ancient India some years ago, Mrs. Manning, when she said “that it had to be resolved whether the Indian quarrymen who extracted stone by means of forming water conduits, by gunpowder and wedges, were Aryans or Turanians.” To the converts the high-sounding names of the gods were accorded. By a judicious change of nomenclature no little mystification has taken place at all times and in all races and nations. Moses, by a species of easy gradation, passes into Moss, then into Mosely, and again into the high-sounding name of Montagu. And the misfortune is that in India physical features do not assist one, for the *milieu ambiant* and admixture of races very frequently baffle investigation.

With the aid of language the names of non-Aryan cities were changed, and the Mahomedans, following the same practice, have transformed the nomenclature in many parts

of India, and have also made use of religion in giving new names to their proselytes. Inconvenience attaches to this meddling, for not only are patronymics changed, but works of art often meet the same fate. A Mahomedan friend was once quite angry with us when we assured him that a Mahomedan mosque was a converted Hindu temple. And at the time we write hundreds of Englishmen, in claiming the friendship of the followers of Islam, are forgetting that Mahomedan is the name of a religion, not the name of a race. The greater part of the Mahomedan population are the descendants of Hindu converts of Islam. The regrettable practice to which we revert assumes its worst form when some ardent Republican tears down an old royal name from the streets of Paris to make way for one of his favourites, and so perverts history. To revert, however, to caste: it opened the door for all sorts of liberties, seeing that a man as black as one's hat became a high-class Brahman, or "a twice-born," or, in the course of caste promotion, became a Thakur or Rajput. But this was not all: the glamour of Vedic story has left the impression on many minds that the whole of Indian literature, as well as the arts and sciences, was the work of the Aryan Brahmans, who were in many cases no more than superior middlemen. It is by no means proved that the Hindu epics are the work of the Aryan races, for non-Aryan countries claim a heroic period, and have men, who, through ballads and other vehicles, sing of the great age. Indian history is enormously indebted to the Brahmans for preserving a record of its art and transmitting them to posterity; but when you consider what power the Brahmans exercised, with what superstition these pontiffs were regarded by the reverent Indian populace, as associated with Divinity, as the interpreters of the sacred oracles and revelations, while holding chief places in the State, we can see at once how history may be misrepresented.

As we have an immense bibliography, treating of the tribes, families, races, and nationalities found in India, with

histories of the Mongols, Mahrattas, Rajputs, Sikhs, treated by such well-known men as Elliott, Grant Duff, Griffin, together with valuable ethnographic charts of the Punjaub and North-West Provinces by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Mr. William Crooke, c.s.i., together with desultory contributions from Sir Alexander Cunningham in his Archæological Reports, no less valuable, and a strikingly laborious analysis founded on cephalic indices by Sir Herbert Risley, we wish not to be mistaken in the object of this presentment. Over the evolution and the original home of the Aryans we are not much concerned, and leave our readers to consult Dr. L. Taylor's and Von Shering's interesting volumes, taking different sides in the controversy, and also Professor Sergi the Italian anthropologist's volume, wherein he believes Northern Africa to have been the Roman cradle. On the other hand, writing of Western civilization in India, we are at liberty to bear in mind that India and Europe have been the home of practically different races, with different activities, chiefly caused by the *milieu ambiant*. It is as notorious that European races do not acclimatize in India, as the experience recorded under the data of environment, that the foreign wheat sown in an acreage with the indigenous variety becomes absorbed by the latter because adapted to its environment. All Asiatic races, lower and higher, from whatever direction of the Eastern Hemisphere they may come, freely acclimatize on Indian soil; but this is not the case with Western birds, dogs, or cattle, nor, as we have stated, with the higher races. Tartars, Mongolians, Arabs, Scythians, have all entered the Indian continent and become easily acclimatized. Europe gives a somewhat opposite experience, for within historic times the Hungarians, assumed to have been Scythians, have become settled in Europe, and have transmitted their progeny. Climate is a great factor, and in this case the climate of Scythia could not have been so different from each other. Races half Asiatic and half European are said to get on

fairly well in England, and are fertile everywhere; but in the case, say, of a Mahomedan doctor settled in England and married to a native wife, it is a question whether he would be able to transmit his progeny to posterity. Both habitat and heredity are great factors, and so play into each other that it is difficult to differentiate them. And having traversed the continent of India from north to south, and from east to west, we have been impressed, like Mr. Nesfield, with the similarity of features in all the Hindu races. They may be a puzzle at times, and it is hard to say where the Tartar, Mongolian, or Dravidian element prevails most; but a close observer cannot fail to recognize a certain homogeneity of race throughout India and re-echo the aphorism of Dr. Von Ihering, "The soil is the nation." The climate of India may vary in different parts, and yet it is uniform in the distribution of sun-heat throughout the entire continent. It is possible that the Egyptians at some time may have had Ethiopian blood, just as they were recruited by Mongolian in their Shepherd Kings, and recognized by Sir J. W. Dawson, the geologist, as bearing a strong affinity to that of the American race he was accustomed to in Canada; but it is equally certain that, owing to the long occupation of the Delta, we have one ethnic type and see the features of an Egyptian Queen in an early dynasty stamped in the person of the fellaheen of to-day. We have drawn attention also to the fact that the negroid blood that India received from what must have been one of the oldest migrations, and seen in Buddhist sculptures, has become almost entirely eliminated, so that the influence of qualities a tribe brings with it are not so strong in heredity as many would make out.

Now we recur, in looking at ethnic origins in India, to a phase that has long impressed us, but which does not appear to have invited the attention of the many erudite scribes who have devoted so much labour on the ethnology of India—viz., the existence of a strong Tartar and Mongolian element in Northern India. The Tartars and Mongolians we esteem

as proceeding from the same stem; they have given their names to various provinces in Northern Asia, such as Eastern and Western Tartary, Eastern and Western Mongolia, but are chiefly known as occupying the whole region of the North, including Scythia. Historians have referred to their numerous conquests, such as that when Ghenghis Khan swept over the whole of Asia, destroying thirty nationalities, to the conquest of China (a people whose origin seems doubtful, when we find Terrien la Confenes calling them Caucasians!). As Mongols, we are all acquainted with the setting up of the house of Tamerlane in Delhi. Some writers, such as Montesquieu and Gibbon, refer to them simply as "hordes of barbarians," and seem scarcely to have done them justice. Excepting in an isolated way, when speculation invites origin on the Rajputs and Jats, there is not much reference to them in the excellent tribal and family summaries by Ibbetson and Cooke. These summaries, by the way, do not seem to us to support the idea of a large Aryan population in India, and it is noteworthy that there is scarcely a tribe or family whom they analyze that has not an ingredient of what, if we cannot call it aboriginal blood, is the blood of races many of whom were in India long prior to the Aryans.

We should not have looked for many Aryans in the Punjab, because that province, up to the time of Darius, was Turanian, and so was Cashmere; but we should have expected more in the North-West Province, generally believed to have been the Aryan home, and to which a portion of India owes the name of Hindustan. What are now the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay, have always been allowed to have been non-Aryan; but we think the Buddhist monuments, to which very few have had access, and which occupy the country supposed to be the chief resort of Aryan settlers in old days, throw a still stronger doubt on the reputed Aryan population. The chief Buddhist remains in what was known as Central India of former days embrace those of Mathura, Sanchi,

in Bhopal, Bharhut, and Buddha Gya, near Gya. There is also Amaravati, in Lower India, but we have no personal acquaintance with it. As might be anticipated, there is a heterogeneous collection of people, including men from a trans-Himalayan country, Highlanders, Tibetans, Burmans, and men whose good-humoured and laughter-rejoicing faces might pass them off as Japanese, if we did not know that they were Hindus. For the most part, they are small in stature, like the Burmese, with broad faces, and rarely any beard or hair on their faces. That they are chiefly of non-Aryan origin may be noted from two items, which we owe to the practised eye and knowledge of Sir Alexander Cunningham. One is that of tattooing the body, common to the non-Aryan races, and much indulged in by the Burmese, as we have seen when quartered in Burmah. The Hindu of these monuments bears a strong likeness to the Burmese, although, for that matter, he does not differ from the small, wiry figure that you meet with in the Mahratta of the Deccan. By some both stature and dress are appealed to as indications of race, and a pair of boots, shoes, or sandals have a high ethnic importance; whereas we know that climate and food are determining elements in the case of both. A Punjaubee or Sikh is ordinarily a taller man than an inhabitant of the Deccan, and so, too, a native of Upper China. Again, while it is true that in many cases dress divides itself into the "trouserred" for the North and "untrouserred" for the South, as Planche indicates, no arbitrary rule can be laid where habit and custom exercise so much sway. We know that the influence of climate and food has been denied, but we think Topinard unfortunate in drawing attention to the Todhas and Kurrumbas, an adjacent tribe, and both on the Neilgherries—the one a tall, handsome race, living on milk and lentils, and the other diminutive, living on butcher's meat: for both milk and lentils are nourishing. Two-thirds of the Scottish nation used to be reared on porridge. The population of Central India,

where the Buddhist monuments are situated, were chiefly Kols, Gonds, and Nagas during the time of Asoka, and are so still. It was a very suggestive remark on the part of a member of the Czar's Staff on his visit to India as Czarevitch when, pointing to the Hindus, he observed, "These are our kinsmen," and recorded in a very charming volume.

Who are better acquainted with the Tartar race than the Russians, seeing that Tartary was the cradle of their own race, and the governing families in the Russian State are chiefly Tartar? On pointing out to a Crimean friend a very Tartar-looking figure on the Sanchi monument in 1883, his reply was: "The Russians I saw during the war of 1854-55 were the exact facsimile of this figure—not only in facial appearance and mien, but even in their dress, down to footgear."

And this brings us to a query that has often been posed: Are the royal race of the Rajputs, of whom the bards sing, whose palatial citadels, such as Gwalior in the Middle Ages, and whose splendours Tod has so well described—are they Scythians? It was the opinion of their classic historian, but this has been opposed by Elphinstone on grounds we think inadequate, and which do not bear examination. We think there is as much in favour of Colonel Tod's opinion as in the belief that the Hungarians are of the same race or Mongolian. It was once our good fortune, but many years ago, to hear the great Hungarian patriot lecture in Scotland on Liberty, and in after-years in India we have thought that we recalled his features among the Rajputs. Before us are two portraits of Rajput noblemen, for which we are indebted to Sir — Jacob, many years in the service of the Rajput State of Jeypore. Individuals differ in every race, but one of these might pass for a Tartar Prince and the other for a Mongolian, the latter being, perhaps, more in harmony with the sculptures on the Sanchi monument. To many it seems rather incongruous to see in the persons of the high-bred Rajputs, who represent the chivalry of

India, any likeness to the "barbarians" of Gibbon, who drank mare's milk, and who are looked upon at best as a sort of brutal warriors. But we question very much whether this description is true of the entire race of soldier chieftains belonging to either the Scythian or Mongol hordes that issued from Northern Asia. The soldier's profession, so often associated with that of the hunter, breeds frequently rough qualities; but it as often generates opposite virtues, and is a profession that has supplied not a few rulers to mankind. While it generates courage to a fault, it makes a man often resourceful, and habituates him to habits of self-control, self-sacrifice, and generosity. The rude, turbulent Scythians might be barbarous, and so were the Scottish Highlanders at the time of Cæsar, being little more than cattle-lifters, and yet they afterwards turned out some of the finest regiments in Europe. Again, the Rajputs are not only like the Scythians in that they have been devoted to the chase, but they worshipped the horse and performed the horse sacrifice. On a disc of the small *stupa* at Sanchi there is a representation of a horse led by a man who holds an umbrella over its head, and this probably has reference to the horse immolation. We learn from the Bible how the Scythians dealt largely in horses in the markets of Tyre, and it seems more than likely that the Rajputs introduced the historic horse into India, the prehistoric one having for ages been defunct. But these alone are not the only likeness, for the Rajputs had the same elective assemblies as the Scythians. Elphinstone saw differences between the Scythians and Rajputs, not only in size and physique, but in dress and customs, and forgot what change of environment does for so many in all manner of life. In so doing he has also ignored the effect of climate and caste, the latter changing worship and the other details. We cannot look upon the Rajputs as Aryan by descent. Nevertheless, we repeat and own that it is a very complex subject to analyze the web that encircles the races of India, for, admirable as the information is which we have received

from scholars and ethnographers, more particularly those who dwell on etymologies and customs based on social and religious practices, they one and all admit that the races of India are extremely mixed—so mixed that we do not see the worth of cephalic indices, so much relied upon by Sir Herbert Risley. It would be different if the ethnographer had to deal with one or two families, as in China, Russia, or France, and if we had more explicit information as to the wanderings of the family or tribe and their original habitat. Then, they have been transformed under the influence of the *milieu ambiant*, as pointed out by Mr. Nesfield, when the Lombard disappeared in the Italian and the Frank in the Gaul. All we can do is to glean a few inferences by the wayside; and on this matter we think the Buddhist monuments and their arts offer us no little enlightenment. The characteristic racial type on those situated in Northern India, including those of Mathura, Sanchi, Bharhut, and Buddha Gya, is, in our opinion, either Tartar or Mongoloid, and we do not see where the Aryan steps in, or, rather, let us call them for the most part non-Aryan.

We have before alluded to the Mongolian, a race enjoying a more widespread geographical distribution than any we know; for is he not to be found, as certified by Wilkinson, in the Shepherd Kings, or Hyksos, Dynasty of Egypt, and equally recognized in Babylon in ancient tombs which correspond in form to that of the Sanchi tope, and, if our memory does not fail us, in Gilmour's "Life of the Mongols under Tents"?

The engraved gems from Babylon known to lovers of glyptics contain one seal with a distinctly Mongolian figure, and this identical figure may be seen reproduced on a transom of the Sanchi tope. Then, the figures that bestride animals of all kinds, such as camels, lions—and they represent both men and women in a very marked attire, not at all like ordinary Hindu clothing—have a very Mongolian and trans-Himalayan look, and present a strong

contrast to those of Bactrian Greeks on the small tope, whose Aryan faces are unmistakable. As is well known, Indian civilization owes a great deal to Babylon, and the Assyrian or winged figures on the Sanchi gateways are very conspicuous. The Mongol Empire, that extended from Babylon to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, contained many Mongolian families, including Parthians, and emigrants from those families must have found their way to India, so that it is not at all curious that we should recognize the Mongolian type in Buddhist caves, such as Ellora and Agunta; nor ought we to forget that the typical representation of the great Buddhist sage, as already noted, whether in paintings, sculptures, or coins, gives him Mongolian features. Among a race so widely spread as the Mongolian—found in China, in Hungary, and in Finland—it would be strange if several contingents had not from the earliest times descended from the Northern Asian heights into India. We have long suspected that there has always been far more of this race in India than the Aryan, and that long before the intercourse of China in later times with the Delhi Court, and before the days of the Chinese pilgrims, India was full of Mongolian blood, and this lends an additional interest to the Yellow Race at the present hour. Moreover, what is still more remarkable, we have thought to identify in the sociology of the non-Aryan communities ideas common to them and the primitive tribes of America recognized to be of Mongolian origin, and in several respects a higher type of morality and greater respect for the rights of individuals.

Our opinions may be of no value, but it has always appeared to us that the glamour of the Aryan race in the West turning out the greatest minds—whether they be the outcome of Grecian or Roman genius, or belong to the race of modern soldiers and statesmen and scientists that adorn history—have taken a wrong view of Indian history, and so, magnifying the part that the so-called Indo-Aryas have taken on, India has failed to see that what is called Aryan

civilization was the joint work of non-Aryan as well as Aryan. Brahmanical records have so perverted Indian history, making out the non-Aryans to have been such a contemptible people, that the true proportion of Indian history has been lost, if we are correct in looking on the non-Aryans as the people who first discovered the value of products while domesticating plants and animals. They were the people who first established the arts of agriculture and mining, and necessarily many subordinate arts, from whose loins most of the Turanian workmen issued, and the authors, we reiterate, of the oldest Indian cities. From their stock, too, has proceeded some of the greatest rulers that India has seen, inclusive of the Emperor Asoka and the Emperor Akbar. The Aryans on arrival in India were mere nomads, with no arts and a very restricted vocabulary, so that, whatever be their share of honour, it was on Indian soil that the race evolved all they acquired. Nor do we see how they could have acquired by themselves the knowledge with which they have been credited, unless in numbers they represented a considerable race. Bar the colonists, who arrived on the banks of the Indus in 4,000 B.C., we hear little of their migrations, and it is yet to be explained how a body numerically small, and with no military organization, ousted an older race, who are reported to have occupied the entire continent, and to have established, according to Professor Oppert, the Madras Sanskrit scholar, communities, arts, trades, and principalities. This statement may be somewhat exaggerated, but elsewhere we have contended for a high antiquity, and there is no doubt as to the establishment of non-Aryan village communities. That the older race, who were the original inhabitants of India, were conquered, and became the slaves of the conquered—of this there is little doubt, for in the customs of the Madras races one servile caste, the Parhiar, there are to be found the remains of former dignity and evidence of the fact that the position of governing and subject races has been reversed; but who the conquering race was does not.

exactly appear, and there have been many conquering races in India, some of whom have been military, like the Nairs of Malabar.

We have now reached the end of our investigation, and the answer we give to the question postulated, "Who are the Hindus?" is that they are a conglomerate, made up of many branches of the Asiatic race, who, if owning traits and qualities, mental as well as physical, common to the human species, have become through the lapse of ages, dating back to the Quaternary period of history and the Ice Age, a race differing in many ways from the European. Formed of many branches, and coming from various quarters of the Eastern Hemisphere, they have been fused into one Indian race, and this through the influence of the land, the climate, food, and mixture of dissimilar individuals—in other words, they are like a stream fed by many rivulets. Our generalization is rather the opposite of the usual one, which describes India composed of many races and many nationalities; but we cannot see any substantial difference between a Rajput, a Mahratta, or a Sikh; and the difference between many Mahomedans and Hindus is a difference, as we have insisted, more of religion than of race.

Nor do we see any reason why in the more distant future they should not be fused into one nationality. The days are gone by when rival deities smashed each other's heads, and religion, if all-potent in the past to separate people, may be unable to divide people united by a common patriotism and love of country. Ineffectual attempts were made in recent European wars to make it a war-cry, but these proved ineffectual. What has divided the Indian races more in the past than anything else, and prevented Indian patriotism, has been the caste system. We have raised the question in these pages whether a newly acquired habitat such as India or the qualities a race bring with them from another place do more for a race. It is a fine question, but all depends upon circumstances. One might say that

Saxon civilization in the United States owes more to race, but this would not be altogether true, for all the qualities of the race would have been powerless but for the land and products, which have served in no small way to mould the character of the Anglo-American race. Here the two elements have been interdependent; but it is necessary to observe that the illustration has no analogy to that of India, where the Aryans brought nothing to the country, and with minds that had to learn everything. The British emigrants, on the other hand, took with them a cut-and-dried civilization. On another page we have taken a casual glance at the Celt in the British Islands, and we should say that he owed infinitely more to the country of his adoption than to the original habitat of the race. Beyond what we have said under the data of environment, we have little to add about the transmission of acquired character on heredity. Naturally everything depends on fertilization, and, above all, whether the characters are suitable to a particular environment, as those imparted to the natives of India under European education. At the actual hour many questions interpose, and to these we have cursorily alluded, such as the superiority of race, decadence of race, the improvement of races, and the war of races. We need not enlarge upon the subject, for, if not altogether outside our purview, it opens too wide a field for consideration, embracing as they do the whole field of Western civilization in India. You cannot ask the question whether he is improved physically and mentally as a race without raising the whole problem, and this would be anticipating what we may have to say elsewhere. Our business in this has been in looking to the racial elements and to the strength of environment or habitat.

ESSAYS ON INDIAN ART, INDUSTRY, AND EDUCATION.*

BY R. F. CHISHOLM.

UNDER the above title, Mr. E. B. Havill, formerly Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, collects half a dozen of his published essays and lectures. The first article, "The Taj," in which Mr. Havill contends that the Italian Geronimo Verroneo was not the architect of that famous structure, requires to be separately reviewed.

When anyone understanding Eastern styles of architecture weighs the almost universal admiration which the Taj commands against the actual architectural merits of the structure, the instability of human intelligence becomes a curiosity, the mystery of success inscrutable. This instability is not confined to architecture; it runs through all the arts. An unfortunate artist, struggling year after year to secure a couple of square feet of walling at the Royal Academy, witnesses with amazement the success of a policeman who, giving but his left hand to the work, at once secures the coveted position. The struggling musician walking along the street hears with despair the perfect feeling with which a butcher-boy whistles a popular operatic air. The great public physician sighs as public opinion compels him to recognize the merits of some patent medicine, of the real nature of which he is ignorant; and the architect, after studying centuries of art-lore, suddenly

* "Essays on Indian Art, Industry, and Education," by E. B. Havill, late Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, etc. India: G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

finds that he has to reorganize all his canons and begin afresh, because some man, perhaps not an architect at all, has by public acclamation scattered those same canons to the four winds. Is it therefore impossible, or even unlikely, that an obscure Italian architect or artist should have conceived the transcendent idea manifested in the Taj? If public admiration is the gauge to determine beauty, then the Taj is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings in the world; but if, apart from the scenic wonder of its loveliness, we consider it from an academic point of view, it elicits little commendation. Even accepting some such general definition as that architecture is the science of construction, properly proportioned and appropriately and systematically decorated, the Taj would fall below many well-known Indian buildings. Not only is it devoid of novel constructive features; its author shrinks from problems patiently and cleverly worked out with the keenest delight by his predecessors. He does not work from the square to the octagon—that great achievement of structural ingenuity which has taxed the courage of almost every architect of note—but commences at once with the octagon! This might be excused on the plea that he regarded permanency and long life of greater value than structural skill, which always embodies an element of self-destruction; but nothing can excuse the cumbersome central dome, which serves no useful purpose of any kind; it is nothing but a monstrous, dark, unventilated chamber—the abode of bats—into which it is impossible to enter for the stench. In what is known as proportion, however, the building seems to be absolutely faultless. When we descend to a consideration of the details, the finish falls below that found at Mount Abu. For wealth of ornamental design no window in the Taj can compare favourably with the palm-tree window at Ahmedabad, and we are by no means certain that the arabesquing (on which so much praise has been lavished) would be highly rated by any good ornamentist.

of the present day. The floral work, particularly that form in the angles of the great spandrils which seems to have been suggested by Apollo's lyre, lacks both richness and vigour. Would any skilled ornamentist have attempted to place a symmetrical form on a line which, by nature of the shape of the surface dealt with, does not bisect the right angle? I doubt it.

After discussing the question of the architect historically, Mr. Havill says: "While history affords practically no evidence in support of Verroneo's claims to immortal distinction, the Taj itself is the most convincing proof of the impudence of the assumption. . . . If Verroneo's design had been accepted, we should doubtless have had some Orientalized version of the church of Santa Maria della Salute." But why should Verroneo select Santa Salute as his model rather than the domes of San Marco?—domes more like the Taj dome than any to be found in all India? Indeed, if Verroneo had not died, it is not improbable that the great dome termination would have completed the resemblance, instead of being finished in the pure native style of the period. The building itself most undoubtedly tells its own tale, but I differ from Mr. Havill as to what that utterance is, and, moreover, I think that before it is thoroughly understood, the history of Humayon's Tomb must be written; we must know who spoilt Akbar's work, and why it was spoilt; why the Taj was commenced in *no* style, and finished in the style of the period; we must know also if Verroneo had nothing to do with the Taj, why his remains were brought all the way from Lahore to Agra!

The wonderful charm of the Taj lies neither in the purity nor in the excellence of its design, but in the magical effect of the building and its surroundings as seen under the glory of a tropical sun. All honour is due to the mind that grasped the capabilities of the situation, and worked them out so successfully. This mind may not have produced a work of architecture, but it certainly has bequeathed to us a great treasure.

The remaining essays on the revival of Indian handicrafts—Art and Education, Art and University Reform, Indian Administration and “Swadéshi,” and the Uses of Art—may be reviewed collectively.

The many truths which Mr. Havill places forcibly before his readers are somewhat weakened by a tendency to be unjust to ourselves—to condemn all phases of commercialism as a kind of money-grubbing mania without a redeeming feature. While we heartily sympathize with much that Mr. Havill says on this score, wholesale condemnation loses sight of that wholesome activity of mind which is one of the surest indications of a nation's moral progress. When the Crown took over India, England had just entered on that era of national prosperity which has raised her to her present high position. England shared that prosperity with India without stint, and it was but natural that the educational system, which we ourselves believed to be the main cause of that prosperity, should also have been planted in India. Whether she would have advanced with greater strides had she been allowed to “dream the happy hours away,” is too gigantic a question for consideration; but of one thing we may be certain, nothing we could have said or done would have conserved the beautiful arts which in olden days made her famous, for the very nature of those arts settled the question long before it presented itself to us. The arts of India arose out of a kind of despotism, the works of slaves executed for the gratification of conquerors—the wondrous kinkobs, the exquisite golden filigree, the Damascened swords, daggers, and battle-axes, the jewelled jade cups, the embroidered saddles, the impregnable chain-armour, the silver howdahs and chariots, the golden guns, the priceless diamonds and pearls, even the marble and sandstone tombs and palaces, with their ivory and inlaid furniture, were all wrought for conquerors and Court favourites, male and female—mere luxuries for the luxurious. Thank Heaven, we have no use for them now; but thank Heaven, also, that they are not really lost. All the cunning thought which

produced them still lies dormant among the people, ready to awake at the right moment; when that moment comes, it is not improbable that India may lead the art world.

The conservation of the useful arts rests on a different basis. All Mr. Havill says on hand-loom weaving merits the most careful attention. His advocacy of the introduction of the fly-shuttle cannot be too highly commended. It may be said, of course, that the fly-shuttle is but a step towards the era of machinery which he so heartily deplores; but if the fly-shuttle enables the weavers to tide over the next twenty years, the blessing will be incalculable, for the present state of unrest throughout the world points to changes in the distribution of wealth, which may reverse channels of thought regarded at the present moment almost as fixed laws.

In the matter of architecture, Mr. Havill (pp. 123-126) describes with fairness the methods adopted by the Public Works Department entrusted with the execution of all public buildings, but he has omitted to mention two very important factors. First, that when the Crown took over the country in 1858, it inherited the legacy bequeathed to John Company by the French, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, all buildings up to that time being plastered shams; and secondly, that the Government, knowing the deficiencies of their engineers, controlled that body to a certain extent by the issue of standard designs for every class of building, from churches and court-houses to chowkidar's huts. There was a first-class church to seat so many, a second class to seat fewer, and a third class to seat fewer still, and so forth. Even the Cathedrals in the three Presidency cities are of brick plastered. It is absurd to talk of style in buildings of this nature, inasmuch as any one of them at the present moment could be replastered as Gothic of any period—Renaissance, Dutch, or Chinese! The era of modern architecture in India commenced with railway construction. Civil engineers introduced sound building materials, which constitutes art. These engineers, as a rule, had not the artistic discernment to make use of the

art traditions of the country, and were forced to work within the limits of estimates. When, later, one or two earnest workers endeavoured to adapt the *spirit* of the native forms in brick, stone, and wood, without slavishly copying these forms, the public commendation which such works received stimulated others to swamp the movement by wholesale copying and piecing together old Indian work in the same way that the authority-mongers in England swamped for a time the Gothic movement. These remarks will not apply to Bombay. The sudden accession of wealth in that city during the cotton mania attracted a class of architects and builders, who echoed with considerable success the fashionable styles current in the Mother-Country.

Mr. Havill is perfectly right in suggesting that a combination of schools of art and the Public Works Department would lead to both good and economical building. Every executive engineer's workshop might be a miniature school of art, but that would assume every executive engineer to be a man of very varied attainments. It might not be out of place to mention here that such an experiment was actually tried with complete success. An important public building was erected within the estimate without the aid of contractors, and the bricks, tiles, stonework, flooring, doors, and windows—in fact, everything except pot, metal, glass, and crude iron—was executed in India, under the immediate eye of the executive. The accomplishment of the task attracted so little attention it does not appear to have been tried again. There was no money in it for anyone but the actual workman. After all, is it profitable to write about architecture at all? Is it not passing away? Has not King Ferro-concrete commenced his reign? He may be hidden for a time in India, as he is being hidden in Europe and America, by ridiculous cages of skin-deep architecture, but as the great public become educated, a truer treatment will be demanded and the demand met.

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA

(ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA) AND THE BIBLE).

BY PROFESSOR MILLS

[[THIS article was, in its original form, delivered twice as a public lecture before distinguished audiences in Oxford some years ago. It was soon after, or before, printed in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of January, 1894, also in its shorter form; and later, with the consent of the editor of that *Review* and of the author, it was translated into Gujarati by Mr. D. N. Coorlawala, an accomplished Parsi of Bombay. In the second edition, see the Open Court of July, 1909, I mentioned that, as I then remembered, it was Mr. Palanji Madan who translated it. I am now happy to correct myself, while I repeat what I then wrote in recognition of the important service rendered by Mr. Palanji Madan in translating my XXXIst Volume of the *Sacred Books of the East* into Gujarati so far as the translation of the Gāthas extended in that Volume.

That translation of this essay into Gujarati was published by the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay in a large edition. The late very distinguished Editor of the *Review* mentioned seemed gratified that the article was to be thus reproduced in that Oriental language, and he also later gave permission to the author to insert it in a volume of *Miscellaneous Pieces* upon *Zarathushtrianism*.

(The lecture has also just lately been translated into Italian by a talented author, entirely upon his own suggestion and initiative, and will soon be issued in that form,—and also by a gifted French auditor, but not yet published in that language.)

Those who may happen to compare this lecture with either its original in the *Review*, or in its *Gujarati* translation, will notice at once that it is re-arranged, and somewhat enlarged, and also that I seem to have altered my opinions to some degree as to one of the essential points, since I delivered the piece first, and since I gave it to the eminent *Periodical*. This, however, is more apparent than real, although I have certainly felt, and somewhat pointedly, the necessity for putting the possible, or probable, *independent origin* of our Jewish immortality in a clearer light. Readers will also easily recognise the later insertions, from the difference in the stylistic flow of the language, as a later and to some extent a more pointed animus imparts greater pungency and vivacity to one's mode of expressing one's self.))

LECTURE.

MANY interested but necessarily hasty readers of the Zend Avesta overlook the fact that in the ancient documents comprised under that name we have works of many different ages; and even scholars eminently endowed with the critical faculty as applied to other specialities sometimes fall into a similar error, and ignore a characteristic which the Avesta possesses in common with nearly all other writings of its description;—for they sometimes turn over its pages without perceiving, or seeming to perceive, that from leaf to leaf matter comes before them made up of fragments nearly or quite dissimilar, and sometimes separated as to the dates of their authorship by many hundreds of years. They are accordingly apt to make themselves merry over absurdities which prevail in the later, but still genuine,

Avesta, as if they were peculiar to the original Zoroastrian writings.*

But the author, or authors, of the earlier Avesta had no immediate, or certain connection with the superstitions of later centuries;—and as to these quaint myths and trivial ceremonials which are preserved in the later Avesta, are we not apt to exaggerate the disadvantages which they bring with them? How can their presence affect the value of the nobler elements in these relics of ancient faith?

We are pained to read them, but analogous superfluities survive in many modern systems. And indeed some of the later passages in the Zend Avesta which describe the battle with the Demon of Putrefaction, and which might seem to some of us most grotesque, were hardly superfluities, for they showed a sanitation which it would be better for us to follow rather than condemn.† In tracing the following analogies, which for brevity's sake I take for the most part from the genuine, but still later, Avesta,‡ I shall leave out

* It is even not uncommon to speak, or write, of the Avesta as if it were identical with the later Zoroastrianism, the revived system of Sasanian times, which is, however, as different from both the earlier and the later Avesta as the 'Lives of the Saints,' for instance, are from the New Testament record.

† Consciously or unconsciously they anticipated much modern theory upon this subject, and led the way in the most practical of all sciences—sanitation, and their suggestions as to this particular seem to some disinterested critics to have been indirectly reproduced in the Book of Leviticus.

‡ The earlier Avesta consists of the Gāthas, the remnants of the original hymns of *Zarathushtra*, and his immediate associates, or followers. They are most dissimilar to the rest of the Avesta and still more so to the apocryphal Zoroastrianism. They were carefully translated by me in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI., so long ago as October 1887, and their Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts were edited, and the first three translated, by me with a Commentary in my *Study of the Gāthas*, some 650 pages, 1902-04 (F. A. Brockhaus, Leipsic). They may be provisionally placed at about 700 to 900 B.C.; but, if they antedate the cults of Mithra, Haoma (Soma), and of the sun, moon, etc., etc., all of which they totally (?) ignore, they must be centuries older. The remaining parts of the Avesta are of different ages, say from 600 to 300 B.C., while, as in the case of every other ancient book, spurious additions of an indefinitely later origin occur

these grotesque details generally, abandoning them as rare morsels to the collectors of ancient bits. What is here intended is to call attention to the little-known, though long since reported, fact, that it pleased the Divine Power to reveal some of the fundamental articles of our Catholic creed first to Zoroastrians, though these ideas later arose spontaneously and independently among the Jews;—secondly, I wish to emphasise the peculiar circumstances of this independent origin among the Jewish tribes of the Exile;—and thirdly, I wish to show that the Persian system must have exercised a very powerful, though supervening and secondary influence upon the growth of these doctrines among the Exilic and post-Exilic pharisaic Jews, as well as upon the Christians of the New Testament, and so eventually upon ourselves.

After this brief preface let me proceed at once to cite the documental facts as to the whole doctrinal system, only remarking that they are practically uncontested by any persons whose views are worth considering, for it is by no means necessary just here to go into the closer technical linguistic distinctions* in such a delineation as this. Let us now first trace the Iranian ideas where their analogy with the Jewish seems most important.

To begin with our excerpts from the Sacred Book of the Iranians, we may consider the connection where it seems also most obvious, that is to say, as to the *Nature of the Deity*.

I. First of all He is *Supreme*, and therefore *One*. The usual throng of sub-godlets which are also here present no more impair His Supreme Unity than our own Archangels impair the Supreme Unity of our own Jehovah of Hosts or

here and there. Some writers, while holding the Gāthas to date at about 700 B.C., put even vigorous parts of the later but still genuine Avesta at a thousand years later, which would, indeed, seem at the first sight of it to be rather irrational as a suggestion.

* While even the original passages could be learned by any apt scholar with a competent teacher in the course of a very short time.

of our own misunderstood Tri-Unity.* There can be but one 'Greatest of the Gods who made this earth and yon Heaven, who made man, and amenity for him.'† But He is a moral God, His Supremacy is limited by His own character, which is not irrationally dishonest;—For He is not logically responsible, either through origination, or through permission, for the existence of sinners and their sufferings, the Universe being divided into two immense departments. 'There were two first Spirits, a better (they two), and an evil, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed,—and when these two spirits came together to make life and non-life (they arranged) what at the last the world should be,—the best life of the faithful, but for the faithless the worst mind' . . . ‡,—a doctrine of mighty import indeed and consequence, and we must discuss it fully and at once. For it would be a clumsy history of philosophy which would allow the present noble monotheism of the Parsis to cheat us of the speculatively precious element of dualism as it exists in their genuine writings. (a) [(As regards the later doctrinal development among the Zoroastrians whereby they entirely extinguished the vital elements of Dualism by making the Supreme Good God at last completely victorious, all evil being eliminated in the final restorations; see just below;—but this was hardly a part of the original concept.)] To resume. The good and morally Supreme Ahura is exalted as the one only real God in our modern sense of the term;—but He was One in adoration as well as in definition, supreme because His 'goodness' makes Him great, 'His Unity' being that of His Truth, Benevolence, Authority, and sacred Energy; see above and below,—though the equally original evil God—see above

* See also the very name of the so-called and really one God; it was Elohîm, meaning 'Gods,' and it once referred to a recognised plurality in Deities.

† See Behistûn. Dualism in the Inscription?—Auramazda is signally the creator of what is 'good.'—'He did not make evil' as Yahveh Elohîm is said to have done in Isaiah xlv., xlv.

‡ See Y. XXX, 4.

—as being independent, limits Him, completely exculpating Him from all share in crime ;—in fact, entirely aside from any personal Devil, He would be sufficiently limited by His own Attributes ;* see above.

(b) *Does Analogy fail us here as between the Iranian and Jewish concepts ?*—and if so, to what extent ?

The Jewish pre-Christian, but post-Exilic thought was doubtless as replete with diabolic demonism as the Christian and the post-Christian, though that of the Christian epoch was obviously under the control of the exorcising Saviour. Does this last particular, which implies the inferiority of Satan, destroy all analogy here between Iran and Christian Israel as to this essential matter ?—Not fully, in the sense in which we should here view the subject. Though *Angra Mainyu* was obviously inferior to *Ahura* in power, neither one of the two could be logically regarded as the possible annihilator of the other ; and so the one inferior in power was beyond a certain point independent ;—the Saviour might temporarily frustrate, or seem to frustrate his, Satan's, malign purposes, but He plainly could not annihilate him ; otherwise he would at once have done so.—(What is eternally original could not logically be regarded as coming to an end through the power of any other being, though an eternally Original force might yet of course be inferior within the scope of its legitimate effectivity to another equally independent force, for there is but one all-inclusive force which has no inferior ;—yet there can be relatively independent and eternal forces which have no immediate connection with one another, and here inferiority and superiority are greatly widespread ;—but such a force could have never met any other in the past capable of annihilating it, otherwise throughout a past eternity the meeting must have taken place with the result under consideration) ;—No theology should, however, be pushed too closely to all its logical results ;—and we might indeed even infer such an 'annihilation' of the evil powers from those 'restora-

* As a God of Honour.

tions' of all men ;—see above ; and this from some expressions made use of even in the later but still genuine Avesta as well as in the Gāthas themselves, together with those in the later Zoroastrianism ;—see above and below ;—though, as seen above, this would sacrifice all logic,—for if the Good God could save all men, He should have done this earlier in their career ;—to allow human, or other spiritual beings to commit revolting crimes for the purpose of letting them see through experience how evil sin is, would be a policy of which a Good and Omnipotent God would hardly be capable. [(—And who of us really believes that he was ?—)]

But if, on the contrary, the Good Iranian God, even He of the Gāthas, is indeed to bring in universal salvation at the end of any period, however restricted or protracted, this period might be supposed to be, then, in that case, the difference between such a phase of Zarathushtrianism and some forms of Judaism and of liberal post-Christianity in this respect *fails*, and they, these systems, are here, if only illogically, *one*,—and but for the 'forever and forever' of the Gāthic Iranian Hell, one might yet claim for the analogy between the systems a persistent validity even as to this fundamental particular.

But no similarities, however protrusive, should blind us to the real and apparently radical difference here between the creeds as mainly expressed by their original authoritative exponents ; and the striking facts of opinion, as they existed among important sections of both parties, remain in all their monumental force.

(c) *Can we not, however, in regard to some large sections of the early Jewish population, modify this apparent difference from an opposite and unexpected quarter, abysmal though the difference referred to may well seem to most of us to be ? It is rather a colossal question never before, so far as I am aware, muted ;—but we must grapple with it none the less.*

Is Yahveh Elohim Himself (*sic*) always actually so *supreme* as to be independent of all limitation on the part

of the evil Gods of the Gentiles? If not, were not the Jews themselves sometimes in a certain essential sense of it 'dualists'?

I very seriously raise the solemn question whether the Jewish writers of the Old Testament earlier or late at all really believed their *Yahveh Elohim* to be absolutely supreme in so far as to have been the *creator of either Satan, or of Baal, or of any of the Demon-gods*. We know indeed that they, the Jewish prophets, accredited the existence of these Beings as a matter only too emphatically real, and by no means uninterruptedly regarded them as being altogether creatures of the imagination (see the frequent comparison of them with *Yahveh Elohim*). But when, and in so far as, they thus believed them, these gentile gods, to be really existing spiritual beings, in how far did they then suppose their own *Yahveh Elohim* to have been their original creator, either bringing them into existence as being holy in their nature before a fall like 'Satan's,' or causing them to arise as being *originally* of evil character? The question is very serious. The foolish relief offered us by the doctrine that *Yahveh Elohim*, as God the Father, was not responsible for the fall of beings who He foresaw would become evil when He created them, is no longer available, and could not have long continued to satisfy any sober-minded sage;—but if the leading Jews in large numbers thus in due sequence unconsciously, or openly, rejected the view that their good God *Yahveh* originally created the Evil Gods of their enemies—directly or indirectly, in any shape or chain of causality or responsibility whatsoever, then such ancient Israelites were in verity, though they may not have been consciously, *dualists*,* not far indeed from the type of Zarathushtra;—they held to the existence of a Being, or Beings, who was, or who were, originally evil, and so they held, to an original

* Recall also the very expression 'God' as applied to Satan as the 'God of this world.' If Satan was a 'God of this world,' and *Yahveh* was the 'God of Heaven,' we have here at once something extremely like the Pair at Y. XXX.

evil principle, which is dualism, and that dualism remains one of the most interesting suggestions which have ever been presented, and one indeed which, in its elements, if not in its detail, is still unconsciously but largely followed.*

So much for this most fundamental of all discriminations.

Others of the utmost interest offer themselves here at once as being closely connected; but, in the leading of a more stringent logic, we should postpone them for later expansion, now facing that other most practical of doctrines which often really gives the whole discussion its immediate importance;—and this is the great question as to the *Human Immortality*,—although many might indeed well say that the two subjects could be profitably studied quite apart.—and, in fact, that they ought to be so studied separately.

II. I fear we too little realise how very uncertain the doctrine of a future life was in the minds of pious Jews, even at the time of our Lord. The Sadducees, as we understand, believed in 'neither angel, nor spirit, nor resurrection,' and the Sadducees shared the power with the Pharisees; in fact, they seemed to have possessed greater social prestige, and several princely high-priests were of their clique, the entire party of the heroic Asmonaeans or Hasmonaeans being of this opinion. It seems to many of us most curious that the sect among the ancient people of God, which especially claimed the title of 'purists'† and sticklers for the ancient Pentateuch, should have been well-nigh absolute disbelievers in what are now considered to be the essential elements of religion;—see also the expression 'who only hath immortality,' and also 'who brought life

* What is the present advancing pessimism (so called) but the recognition of the original necessity of evil co-existing with good? The Avesta here anticipates momentous distinctions;—recall the later schemes of the *Gnostics*; as to which see also *Jakob Boehme*, *Fichte* and *Hegel*. Some writers have here indeed compared the supposed Babylonian dualism especially in regard to Isaiah xlv., xlv., etc., but such 'pairings' of the throngs of Gods should hardly be here mentioned.

† Though the name, being derived from the proper name of some prominent teacher, *Zadok*, did not necessarily imply any especial claims to 'Righteousness'; yet the force of the word, as analogously elsewhere in similar cases, was sometimes felt.

and immortality to light' in the gospel, as if the subject had been till lately obscured.

If such a state of things existed at the time of our Lord, when both the doctrine of immortality and that of resurrection had long been familiar as theories, what must have been the condition of opinion upon these subjects while the influence of the Pentateuch, in which these doctrines were not distinctly revealed at all, was as yet not affected by the large addition to canonical Scripture made later?

Few scientific theologians will deny that the full doctrine of a conscious and accountable immortality was scarcely mooted before the later Isaiah*; that is to say, not before the Captivity, whereas the Zoroastrian scriptures are one mass of spiritualism, referring all final results to the heavenly or infernal worlds.—We shall return to the details for their necessary amplification further on.

(a) This is, however, also the proper place to emphasise the main essential moral and intellectual elements of this future immortality which we have indeed already inclusively adumbrated. In close accordance with the moral character of God is the deep *subjectivity* of the Religion.

Holiness is prayed for, and Heaven and Hell are chiefly mental states:—'O Asha (Angel of the Holy Law), shall I see thee, and Vohumanah (the Good Mind), I finding Sraosha (God's Hearing Ear and man's), the way to Ahura (or 'finding His throne'), Y. XXVIII. 5.

The last line in the passage cited above, Y. XXX. 4, seems to imply that the last life of the righteous was the 'Best Mind'; from this the word 'Best' as used by the Persians for 'Heaven.'

Rewards and punishments are self-induced, Y. XXXI. 20; 'and this which is such a life, O ye vile, with (your) own deeds your own souls have brought you.' 'Cursed by their souls and selves (their being's nature) in the Druj-

* The future existence of souls after death was as dim in the pre-exilic Bible, as it was in the older Greek classics; in fact this latter, the Greek immortality, seems to show rather the more of animation.

Lie-Demon's Home at last their bodies lie (or, 'their citizenship (?) is),' Y. XLVI. 12?*

III. Having endeavoured here at the outset to engage-attention by putting the two most vital elements into point, we can now return to the scarcely less imposing extended detail which presents itself in regard to the chief concepts already touched upon.

(a) Ahura Mazda, the Living Lord, the great Creator (or possibly the 'Wise One'), has a most Bountiful, or most Holy Spirit, who is sometimes identical with Him, and there is precisely the same difficulty in distinguishing between Ahura and His Holy (?) Spirit, which meets us in the Semitic when we endeavour to decide positively in the analogous obscurity. Often we cannot tell whether Yahveh's attribute or His creature is meant.

Yasna XXVIII. 1 :

'With hands outstretched, I beseech for the first (blessing) of Thy most Bounteous or (holy) Spirit.*'

See also Yasna I. 1 :

'I invoke, and I will complete my sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant, the glorious, the greatest and the best, the most firm, who sends His joy-creating grace afar, who made us and has fashioned us, who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bountiful (the most holy) Spirit.'

(b) In the seven Bountiful (or 'holy') Immortals (the Amshaspends of literature) we have a union which reminds us of the Sabellian Trinity (Yasht XIII. 82):

'We sacrifice to the redoubted guardian spirits of the Bountiful Immortals who are glorious, whose look itself has power (their look produces what they wish), who are lofty and coming on to help us, who are swiftly strong and divine, everlasting and holy, who are Seven,* and all of one thought, and of one word, and of one deed, whose thought is the same, whose word is the same, and whose deeds are the same, who have one Father and Commander,

* About 700 to 900 A.C., or earlier.

Ahura Mazda; each of whom sees the other's soul revolving good thoughts, thinking of good words, contemplating good actions, whose abode is the Home of Sublimity (or 'Song'), and shining are their paths as they come down to us to offering.*†

While they are thus unified, Ahura Mazda being illogically-included within their number, they are yet separate. Vohumanah is the divine benevolence, the good mind of the Deity, likewise alive within His saints, and later personified as a separate archangel, while even in the Gāthas it represents the holy or correct citizen. Asha, the Vedic Rīta, is the divine Order, the symmetry and perfection in the Law, the ritual, and in the soul, and at the same time a poetically personified Archangel. Khshathra is His sovereign power realised in a kingdom of righteousness, and yet also poetically personified. Aramaiti is our energetic zeal and piety, the Active mind, the inspiring energy of the Deity first thought of as the 'ploughing of agriculture'; to *avatum*, and from this latter called the 'earth' in both Veda and Avesta, as against the non-toiling and theft-murder schemes of the raiding Turks. She is also in figurative conception God's daughter, and this even in the Gāthas, where 'God' is otherwise only in general the 'Father of the good,' the Fire being 'God's Son,' only in the later Avesta. She is also implanted within the minds of the faithful as a divine inspiration.

Haurvatāt is God's Perfection as consummated through His foregoing Truth, Love, Power and Vital Energy, while the name is borrowed, or promoted from the Haurvatāt 'wholesomeness'—i.e., 'the health and success' of man. [(It was God's completeness like that of man's as reflected in the body's health, then soon perfected in the weal of soul and mind as well as of body, an idea evidently necessary to the roundness of the scheme, and added

* Literary confusion—; the word should be 'six,' without Ahura.

† Say 300 to 100 B.C. in its origins at least, or greatly earlier?

in most modern theologies)]; while Ameretatāt is their Immortality, God's Eternity and man's, Death's absence, a veritable victory over it begun in its long postponement to old age here,—which last was indeed the original point-meaning of the word,—but continued in eternal Deathlessness in a future state.*

From the second to the seventh they are therefore the personified thoughts sent forth from the mind of God to ennoble and redeem His people. That the general description of such notorious and predominant conceptions as these, immensely widespread as they were in the dominant power of Asia, and as lying at the logical root of Zoroastrianism, should have become known to the Jews of the Captivity and to their descendants before the date of some, if not all, of the Exilic Prophets, is scarcely less than certain, for they were also signally identified by the distant Greeks with the general theology of Persia, far and wide, without distinction of provinces,—and the Greeks also heard of them, in their deepest and purest sense, before the date of Daniel (see the 'invaluable' passage in Plutarch, evidently reproducing the ideas of Theopompus, whom he quotes, also cited by me elsewhere). If the priests of Cyrus conferred to the smallest degree with those of Ezra, then not only the Gnostics felt its influence, but the pre-Christian and Christian theology. And in the Book of Tobit, which also contains prominently the name of an Avesta demon, we have an allusion to these Seven† Spirits (chap. xii. 15) at Ragha, the Zarathushtrian centre (let it be noticed), one of whom, those Spirits, is actually mentioned as Raphael, the Jewish Archangel, so positively identifying the two sets of 'Seven Spirits,' though in a somewhat

* The 'hundred autumns' of the Rik were the hope of all, and this idea of a preternaturally extended life upon earth—that is to say, of a 'temporal immortality'—merged into that of another 'deathlessness' beyond the grave, becoming an universal aspiration with the Erano-Indians, as it is, indeed, elsewhere;—for what nation ever existed without it in some form of it?

† One edition (!) omits the word 'Seven' amply supplied elsewhere.

loose manner. So also in Zechariah (iv. 10) we have the 'Seven which are the eyes of the Lord, and which run to and fro upon the earth'; and this is further expanded in Rev. v. 6: 'And I saw in the midst of the throne a Lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the "Seven Spirits" of God sent forth into all the earth.' (How sublime it all becomes when we look upon it in the light of parallel development in unassisted growth.)

[[*(c)* Negative arguments as regards the extent of territory reached by these doctrines, drawn from the absence of the named 'Seven' from the Inscriptions, are the mistakes of non-experts, as well as are the negative arguments with regard to their dates. These names are equally absent from large portions of the Avesta, and no inference can be made from their absence from the Inscriptions. (Certainly not, as we may pause to state, upon the ground that they, the Inscriptions, are in themselves a completed unit, while they yet omit some of these personifications, which should, as an objector might suppose, be included within all complete documents dealing with the Iranian Religion, and that, on the other hand, the portions of the Avesta which omit these personifications are but parts of a whole, and therefore might not be expected to contain allusions even to leading concepts;—this negative point has little force, from the fact that the Achæmenian Inscriptions, while perhaps the most important and extensive of sculptured writings upon rocks are yet, nevertheless, necessarily very circumscribed when regarded as literature. (And how long must it have taken to complete them, and by workmen who could neither read nor write in any language, while the composers also should not have been expected to mention all particulars.))

The number 'seven,' together with the very names of the Ameshas, though not visible upon the Inscriptions, found, as we have seen, their way to distant shores, and the report of Plutarch just cited, concerned, as we have also

emphasised, the general religion of all Persia, so that it could not have been intended to exclude that form of the so widely extended Faith which prevailed about Behistūn and Nakhsh i Rostam. And that these same ideas, at least, which are expressed in the names of the Amesha Spentas were prominent in Farsistan is illustrated by the fact that two of them are combined in the name of an Emperor, Artakhshatra, which is Asha (A[r]sha) plus Khshathra, and, as I have lately conjectured, the name of the large Eastern Province, which we have translated as Harachosia (or Arachosien), may, after all, be not really the equivalent of Sarasvati, the near-lying water, as we have hitherto so naturally supposed, for it is simply Harauvati upon Behistūn, with no *h*, or *ch*=Avesta *h*, to reproduce the Indian *s* of Sarasvati? It is only in the Babylonian version that we have this *h*, while the Elamitic omits it; the Greeks only distantly reported it, without especial authority, as the form remembered, having been heard by the writers; and this alone authoritative Harauvati may be simply the equivalent of Av. Ha(u)rvatāt(i), Indian Sarvatātī, the fifth Amesha. That religious names were not unusual when applied to countries recall Arminiya (adj.), which seems clearly related to Ar(a)maiti, the fourth Amesha; see also the name of the great Province of Azarbaijan (Adarbaijan), named from the 'Fire-altars.'

Angra Mainyu does not indeed occur upon the Inscription, but His Chief Creature, the Female Devil of Deception, the *drauga*=*draogha*—that is, the *Druj*(*k*), see above—is present everywhere, though her, or 'his' (?), essential characteristics are more frequently expressed under the verbal than under the nominal form. 'He lied' thunders everywhere from the monumental surfaces;—those reprobations must have been constantly repeated in greatly varied forms; and these ideas in their original, or later, form may well have helped to mould Jewish and Christian expressions.

Mithra and Anahita too seem to have stepped bodily out of the Avesta, while the Demon *Druj* under the other Avesta form of *drauga* = *draogha* = 'the Lie,' is also present. Many turns of speech are strikingly common to the Avesta and the Inscriptions.—] To resume.

IV. Then as to the attributes of God more definitively considered in their relation to man;—He is *our Creator* (so already necessarily alluded to above upon the Attributes), and perhaps also, in a theological sense, *sovereign*; cf. Yasna XXIX. 4 in *S. B. E.* XXXI., and in the Gāthas :

'The Great Creator is most mindful of the utterances or commands which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto by demon-worshippers,* and by faithful men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them hereafter. He, Ahura, is the discerning arbiter, so shall it be to us as He shall will (see also Y. XXXI. 14). He is *omniscient* (see Y. XXXI. 13, 14). He is our *lawgiver* (Y. XXXI. 11) and *teacher* (Y. XXXI. 5; Y. XXXII. 13). He will establish a *kingdom* (Y. XXVIII. 4). It is for the *poor* (Y. XXXIV. 3). "What is your kingdom, what are your riches, that I may become your own in my actions with the righteous order, and thy good mind, to care for your poor?" (Y. LIII. 9). "O Mazda, Thine is the Kingdom, and by it Thou bestowest the highest of blessings on the right-living poor." It is endangered, and yet in the end *victorious*. It has a propaganda (Y. XXXI. 3). "With tongue of thy mouth do thou speak, that I may make all the living believers." God is our *friend, protector, strengthener*, and *unchangeable* (Y. XXXI. 7). "These, O Spirit, mayst thou cause to prosper, Thou who art for every hour the same." He is our *Judge* (Y. XLII. 4).* There is a day or period of judgment (Y. XLIII. 5, 6). "Yea, I conceived of Thee as Bounteous, O Ahura Mazda, when I beheld Thee as supreme in the actions of life, when, as rewarding deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and blessings for the good by Thy great virtue or 'great wisdom' in the creation's final change. In which last

* These Gāthic passages may be placed at about 700 to 900 B.C.

changing Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous Spirit, and thy sovereign power (see also Y. XLIV. 19)."

V. Then to return for expansion to the evil element in the dualism, we have again, upon the other hand, the more detailed description of *Satan's* counter-activity towards man. While criticism casts its doubt upon the presence of Satan in the serpent of Genesis, we gather from the Genesis of the Avesta that the Scriptural reptile may well be recognised as that 'old Serpent, the Devil.' A serpent tempts in Genesis, and the consequence is sin and the expulsion from Eden. In the Vendidad, the Evil Spirit opposes every good object of creation, and the implied consequence is an expulsion; and the point is closer here.

Vendidad I. Ahura Mazda said unto Zarathushtra Spitama :

'I, O Zarathushtra Spitama, made the first best place, which is Airyana Vaējah; thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, a serpent in the river, and frost made by the demons. . . . The third place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Moūru; thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, which was backbiting and lust. . . . The fifth place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Nisaya; thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created a counter creation, which was the curse of unbelief. . . . As the seventh best place I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Vaekereta . . . thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created the evil fairy who clave to Keresaspa. . . . As the ninth place, I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Khneñta as the best . . . thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, the inexpressible deed of Sodomy . . . etc.'

* About 500 to 300 B.C.; in its main prior elements greatly earlier; but, except where guarded by the metre, extraneous matter universally finds its way in places into ancient texts; many portions of the later Avesta must have been repeatedly, seldom fatally, written over.

These memorable fragments must have struck the attention of every learned Jewish scribe who studied the Lore of his great Persian Protectors;—and what Zarathushtrian who was at all religiously instructed had not at least known of these items in their earlier form? See the allusions to them swarming everywhere.

(a) Then the Asmodeus (Armodai) of the Book of Tobit (see above) is positively the Aeshma-daêva of the Avesta and (A)eshma was the Wrath-demon of Invasion contending with the Seven Spirits in the Gāthas, as he did with the same Seven Spirits in Tobit (see Y. XXVIII. 7, etc.; see above and below).

(b) A 'fall of man' is included in the successive expulsions just above related, but we have also in the original Avesta, which was written still earlier than the Vendīdād, a fall of man, as of spiritual beings, distinctly stated (Y. XXX. 3):

'Thus are the primæval Spirits (see above) which, as a pair, each independent in his actions, have been famed of old (as regards) a better and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed; and between these Two, the demons (or 'their worshippers') could make no righteous choice, since theirs (was) deception. As they were questioning (in their hesitation) the Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen. Thereupon they rushed together unto Aēshma, the Demon of Rapine, that they might pollute the lives of mortals.'

(c) So much for the more definitive, and, so to speak, 'applied,' attributes of the Evil Deity, the '*God of This World.*' The fell characteristics here manifested are not indeed so categorically arranged in a recognised order in the Gāthas, nor under the later, but still genuine, Avesta.

The '*Good*' *Immortal Seven* are so constantly presented together in those productions that a formal correspondence in antithesis is more nearly approximated in the later Zoroastrianism, yet we may easily trace out a marked and most important informal grouping of the opposed intellectual forces even in the Gāthas. As Añgra Mainyu there is

opposed to Ahura Mazda, the One, the first, being the God of Heaven, and the second the God of Hell, so the *Druj* = Lie-demon of the Infidels is opposed to Asha (Arsha) the Truth-Law everywhere; the Akem, evil (sometimes called Achishta = 'the worst') Mind is opposed to Vohu Manah, the Good Mind,—at times Vahishta, 'the best.' The Dush-Khshathra = evil Kings, are opposed to Khshathra, Archangel of the Sovereign Authority; Tarōmaiti, surpassing insolence, is opposed to Ār(a)maiti, the zealous Piety; while Av(a)ētat = 'dejection,' etc., opposes Hauravatāt the Universal Weal of Health and of Salvation, and Ameretatāt, the deathless-long-life, here and hereafter, is opposed everywhere by Merethyu, 'death,' etc.

VI. As to *Soteriology*, a virgin conceives. It is not however, to produce Zarathushtra, but the restoring Saviour of the latter age; nor does she conceive without seed although she is still a virgin. She conceives from the seed of Zarathushtra, which has been miraculously preserved.

The details, which show a gross deterioration from Gāthic times, are presented in their rounded form only in the Bundahish, which is perhaps more than a thousand years later than the date of the original passages in the genuine but still later Avesta. 'Zarathushtra approached his wife Hvōv . . . the angel Neryosangh received the brilliance and strength of that seed, and delivered it with care to the angel Anāhīd, and in time it will blend with a mother. Ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine myriads of the guardian spirits of the saints are intrusted with its protection' (see the Bundahish. *S. B. E.*, vol. v., p. 144). It is preserved in the Lake Kāsava till, at the end of the earthly cycle, a maid Eretāt-fedhri, bathing in the lake, will conceive from it, and bring forth the last Saoshyant, or Saviour, while two of his predecessors are similarly engendered. These several items are likewise present in a scattered state in the ancient but still comparatively later Avesta. In Yasht XIII. 142, we read:

'We worship the guardian spirit of the holy maid Eretāt-fedhrī, who is called the all-conquering, for she will bring him forth who will destroy the malice of the demons and of men.'*

While in Yasht XIX. 92, we read that—

'Astvat-ereta (the Saviour of the Restoration) will arise from the waters of Kāsava, a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of Vispataurvī, the all-conquering, knowing the victorious knowledge which will make the world progress unto perfection.'†

And in Yasht XIII. 62, we learn that 99,999 spirits of the faithful watch over the seed of Zoroaster.‡ [(That we have here the hope of a *virgin-born Redeemer* admits no doubt. Whether such intimations, repeated under various forms, came from the hint of the Israelitish prophets or *vice versa* is of course a question, but that Zoroastrian or Mazda-worshipping Magi, if they came from the East to do honour to the virgin-born babe of Bethlehem, were familiar with them is certain. And as they expected a virgin-born Saviour themselves, it is but reasonable to suppose that this pious hope may well have lain at the foundation of their divine call to discover him who was born 'King of the Jews.')]

VII. According to the record, evil Powers aroused themselves at the birth of the Semitic Deliverer, and so at Vendīdād XIX., 43 we have:

'He shouted, and shouted forth again, he Añgra Mainyu, the evil Spirit who is full of death. He pondered, and he pondered widely, the demon of the demons, and he thus said, he who was the evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, "What! will the demons be assembled in an assembly on the top of Arezura,*§ they the wicked, evil-minded?" . . .

* In its origin, say 300-500 B.C. (?) or greatly earlier.

† In its origins, at about 300-500 B.C.; the much later repetition of this myth argues its long previous growth through centuries.

‡ Compare this drivel with the grandeur and simplicity of the Gātha, *S.B.E.* XXXI., pp. 1-194.

§ Recall the 'exceeding high mountain.'

They rushed and they shouted,^b they, the demons, wicked, evil-minded, and with the evil eye: 'Let us assemble in an assembly on the top of Arezura, for born indeed is He who is the holy Zarathushtra of the house of Pourushaspa. Where shall we find destruction for Him?—He is the demon's wounder,—He is the demon's foe.^c He is Druj of the Druj (a destroyer of the destroyer). Face downward are the demon-worshippers, prostrate is the death-demon,^d and down is the Draogha of the lie.'^{*}

(a) Then as to the *Temptation*.—If our Lord approached that great event in the spirit of a wide humanity, one would surmise that he felt some sympathy with sages who had gone before Him in similar signal encounters; and there exists a temptation of Zoroaster of which He may have known through supernatural cognition, and to which for colour that of Heracles, for instance, bears no comparison. The myth containing it doubtless expresses in its fragments what was once a real struggle, which, if it in any sense saved Zoroastrianism, was one of the world's crises. Zoroaster is besought by the Evil One to abjure the holy Mazdayasnian religion, and to obtain a reward such as an evil ruler got (Vend. XIX. 1). A rally from the first defeat having been made, Añgra Mainyu, the evil Spirit coming from the 'north region of the North,'[†] orders the Lie-demon to assault and slay the holy Zarathushtra, now no longer just born, but in the vigour of his age. The demon, again discouraged, returns to Añgra Mainyu. She says:

'O baneful Evil Spirit, I see no death for him, for glorious is the holy Zarathushtra.'[‡]

Zarathushtra (seeing through their thoughts, says within himself):

'The Demons plot my death, they, evil-doing as they are.'

* In its origin, say about 300 or greatly earlier (?). The footnote signs expressed in letters refer in each case to the corresponding analogy; see the note below, p. 23; (recall, 'cried with a loud voice').

† An accursed quarter.

‡ Recall, 'I know Thee who Thou art, the Holy One of God.'

Then Añgra Mainyu again heads the throng.

'He (Z.) arose, he went forth uninjured^f by their plan and the hardness of their words. And Zarathushtra let the Evil Spirit know :—

'O evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, I will smite the creation made by demons; I will smite the Nasu (putrid demon); I will smite the evil fairy (that seduced the early sages), till the Saviour is born victorious from the waters of Kāsava, from the utmost region of the East.*—

And Añgra Mainyu answered, and shouting as he spoke :

'Slay not my creatures,^g holy Zarathushtra. Thou art Pourushaspa's son, for from thy birth have I invoked (thee).^h† Renounce the good religion of those who worship Mazda.ⁱ Obtain the reward^j which Vadhaghan,* the murderous (ruler), gained.'—

And Zarathushtra answered :

'Never shall I abjure the good faith^k of those who worship Mazda : (no), let not my body, nor my life,^l nor my senses fly apart.'—

And to him then shouted the Evil Spirit of the evil world :

With whose word wilt thou thus conquer? With whose word will thou abjure? With what weapon as the best formed wilt thou conquer these my creatures?—

And Zarathushtra answered :—

'With the sacred Haoma plant, with the mortar, and the cup, with the word which God pronounced.¹ With these my weapons (will I slay thee), they are best. With that word shall I be victor, with that word shall I expel thee,^m with this weapon § as the best made, O evil Añgra Mainyu. The most bounteous Spirit forged itⁿ; in boundless time He made it; and the Bountiful Immortals gave it, they who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright.'

* A blessed quarter.

† First aorist mid. 'All these things will I give thee.'

‡ Other translators introduce an 'if' to gain a better meaning;

'Not if my body, nor my life, nor my senses fly apart.'

§ Recall 'the sword of the Spirit.'

And Zarathushtra chanted :—

‘As the higher priest is to (be revered and) chosen, so let the lower chief (be one who serves) from the righteous order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life’s actions done for Mazda, and the kingdom^o is to Ahura, which to the poor may give their nurture.’*—

Here we may well introduce the closing verse of the chapter (XIX. 147) : †—

‘The demons shouted, the demons rushed, the evil-doing and the wicked; they rushed and they fled to the bottom of the place of darkness; that is, of frightful Hell.’^p

Few Medo-Persian subjects in the streets of Jerusalem being presumably Mazda-worshippers, like their Emperors, here lingering in the Persian subject city soon after, or long after the Return, could have failed to know this striking myth probably in a much fuller form;—and none who knew it could have failed to tell it, if creeds were at all discussed.

* The texts cited are all of them metrical, from this the rhythm of the renderings.

† For detailed analogies in the above citations, which are not very close, recall perhaps ^(a) ‘the exceeding high mountain’; ^(b) ‘cried with a loud voice, My name is Legion, for we are many’; ^(c) ‘Art thou come hither to destroy us before the time?’ ^(d) ‘Death and Hell shall be cast into the lake that burneth’; ^(e) ‘The Holy One’; ^(f) ‘was led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil’; ^(g) ‘And the devils besought Him,’ etc.; ^(h) ‘I know Thee who Thou art’; ⁽ⁱ⁾ ‘All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me’; ^(j) ‘I will give Thee this authority’; ^(k) ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God’; ^(l) ‘It is written’; ^(m) ‘Get thee hence’; ⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God’; ^(o) ‘him only shalt thou serve’; ^(p) ‘Then the devil leaveth Him’; ‘into the abyss.’

(*To be continued.*)

ORIENTAL CROSSBOWS

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

It is rather singular that Sir. R. Payne-Gallwey, in his elaborate work on the Crossbow,* should say nothing about its use in India or Transoxiana. His only reference to Oriental crossbows is at p. 237, where the Chinese repeating crossbow is described. Nor do other English authorities say much on the subject. Lord Egerton does not mention them, and Irvine, in his "Army of the Moghuls," has only slight references to crossbows at pp. 92, 95, and 96. A little more information about them is to be found in the British Museum handbook to the ethnographical collections. Crossbows are entered, under the names of *takhsh-kamān*, and *nāwak*, in the list in Blochmann's translation of the *Āin Akbarī*, p. 110, but there is no description of them. The price of a *nāwak* is

* Sir R. Payne-Gallwey states that the crossbow was considered so barbarous a weapon that its use, except against infidels, was interdicted by the Second Lateran Council in 1139 (under Innocent II.), and that the prohibition was confirmed by Innocent III. In fact, however, the prohibition applied to all kinds of archery, for what is specified is the "*Ars mortifera et Deo odibilis ballistariorum et sagittariorum*" ("The death-bringing and God-hated art of ballista-throwers and archers"). The ballista-throwers probably are crossbowmen, but the sagittarii must include common bowmen. It is Article 29 of the Decrees of the Council, and is given in "*Mansi*," vol. xxi., p. 533. I have not found that the prohibition was confirmed by Innocent III. What he prohibited (in 1215) was the holding of tournaments, as they interfered with Crusading.

given there as ranging from half a rupee to a gold muhr, which shows that it was not merely an arrow, though in course of time *nāwak* was used as a term for a small arrow. The *takhsh-kamān*, which seems to be the crossbow proper, varied in price from one to four rupees.

It is certain that crossbows were in use in India and in Central Asia early in the sixteenth century. Probably they were in use much earlier. The well-known tiger-trap of India is made on the principle of the crossbow, and it is presumably a very old invention. There are several Persian manuscripts on archery in the British Museum, India Office, and Bodleian Libraries, and in them crossbows are described under the names of *nāwak kamān*, and *takhsh kamān*. The India Office has kindly lent me two, in which crossbows are described at considerable length. The oldest one is styled the *Hidāyatu-r-Rāmī*, or "The Archer's Guide" (Ethé's Cat., No. 2768), and was written by Muḥammad Budha'ī, commonly called Saiyid Mīr 'Alawī. He claims to be a descendant of the Prophet—who impressed on his followers the necessity of practising archery—and to have inherited a knowledge of the mysteries of the craft of bowmanship. The most interesting thing about his book is that it was written by the order of the great reforming King of Bengal 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, who also was a Saiyid, and who reigned from 1494 to 1521. It was therefore written before Bābur's invasion of India. There are two copies of the work in the British Museum. (Rieu's Cat., II. 488).

In his twentieth chapter, p. 48, of I.O. MS., Muḥ Budha'ī gives an account of the tube bow and arrow, *tīr-i-nāwak*. I take this bow to be identical with the slur-bow figured and described in Sir R. Payne-Gallwey's book, p. 129. The slur-bow is there said to be "a crossbow, with a barrel of wood or metal attached to its stock." The slur-bow is also referred to in Nares' Glossary, Routledge, 1905, where it is pointed out that slur-bows are entered in a catalogue of arms in the Tower of London, published in vol. xiii. of

the *Archæologia*. Part of the equipment of a slur-bow was a "bender," which was an instrument for drawing back the string. Sir R. Payne-Gallwey says that the barrel of the slur-bow was no doubt suggested by the hand-gun, but I should think that the reverse of this statement is more likely. Nāwak is a diminutive from "nāo," a tube, and this seems to be the original meaning of the word, though nāwak is also often used to mean a small arrow or bolt, Muḥ Budha'ī says that the nāwak was invented by old men when they could no longer use the common bow and the long arrow. Hence, he says, it has been termed "The old man's provision (*dastmāya*)." He describes it as a very effective weapon, and says that the nāwak-arrow is the hardest of hitters, and that none flies more swiftly. Hence it is called the effective arrow (*tīr kārī*), for wherever it strikes, it does its work (*kār*). To use the nāwak, however, requires skill, and there is also an element of danger, for the arrow may hit the archer's hand. It would seem from his description that the barrel was separate from the stock, and had to be tied on. It should be made of ebony or other hard wood. There were several kinds of nāwaks, such as the nāwak Feringhī, or Franks' bow; the nāwak qabza, which was also called the *Mujrū*—i.e., the tube—and the nāwak *maḥdūd*—i.e., the closed tube. It was necessary to have a teacher to explain the way of using them. Muḥ Budha'ī does not mention the *takhsh*-kamān, or crossbow proper, so perhaps it was not known in Bengal in his time. But it is mentioned by Bābur as being in use in Ferghana in 900 A.H. or 1494-95. He describes an archer in a fort as being particularly skilful in the use of the *takhsh*, and as killing many of his men.

In the other India Office Manuscript, No. 2771 of Ethé's Catalogue, the author, who wrote as late as the time of Muḥammad Shah, and apparently about 1720, describes the *takhsh*, p. 87A, and says it was invented by King Saul's son—upon whom be peace! I presume that Jonathan is the son referred to. This manuscript is called the *Kulliyatu-r-Ramī*, or "The Cyclopædia of Archery," and was written

by Saiyid Amīnu-d-dīn, who was a descendant of Abu-l-Barakāt who was an officer of Timur, and whose family originally belonged to Andakhud in Northern Afghanistan. Amīnu-d-dīn was a practical archer, for he describes a wonderful shot of his against a crow, in the presence of Muḥammad Shāh. He quotes largely from Muḥ Budha'ī, but he adds much matter of his own, and is very diffuse and poetical. He, as well as Budha'ī, tells how Adam was the first archer. When Adam was expelled from Paradise, God gave him wheat to comfort him, but the crows came and destroyed his crop. He complained, and God sent the archangel Gabriel to him with a bow and three arrows. The first shot was a miss, and Gabriel expressed his joy. Adam asked why he was pleased to see him miss, and Gabriel said, if he had hit at the first shot, there would have been no difference between the teacher and the learner, and the first son that Adam taught would have killed his brother. Amīnu-d-dīn quotes the Prophet's praise of archery, and says that there is a tradition that one hour's practice on the archery ground was more meritorious than fifty years of devotion. Also that for those who live near infidels, archery is a Divine ordinance, and a precept of Muḥammad for those who live far away from them. Both Budha'ī and Amīnu-d-dīn have separate chapters on the Bow, the Arrow, the String, etc. According to the latter, Sultan Aḥmad of Gujarāt obtained the seed and introduced the lākḥūrī arrow (said to be of two kinds, male and female) into Gujarāt, so that country afterwards became famous for its arrows. He also describes an instrument called a kardāng, and also called a *chaprās* and a *goshagīr*, which was used, apparently, to straighten the *gosha*, or tip of a bow, when it got warped. It was something in the nature of a buckle or a brooch. It is curious that though Amīnu-d-dīn mentions firearms, he has not a word to say about their superseding bows and arrows.

With regard to the distance to which flight-arrows may be sent, Muḥ Budha'ī says, p. 40a, that in the Delhi district

arrows can be sent as far as 1,000 yards, but that in Khurāsān and Turkestan and Arabia the range is 1,200 yards, whereas in Bengal, on account of the dampness of the atmosphere, only a range of 800 yards can be attained. These seem very long ranges, and perhaps *gaz* only means a cubit. The subject of the range of arrows is discussed in Sir R. Payne-Gallwey's book, chapter v., and it may be of interest to point out here that there is a Turkish MSS. in the British Museum which gives an account of some archery matches in Baghdad. See Rieu's "Catalogue of Turkish MSS.," p. 129.

Hammer Purgstall, in his learned paper on Oriental bows and arrows, "Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna," vol. iv., 1853, in speaking of the *peshrau*, or flight-arrow, says that its range is 1,000 to 1,200 paces. His paper gives the names of the parts of the bow and arrow, but they are chiefly Arabic and Turkish.

Both Muḥ Budha'ī and Amīnu-d-dīn have long descriptions of the *nawāk-kamān*, or tube-bow, but their accounts are difficult to follow. Amīnu-d-dīn speaks of two holes being made in the end of the *nāwak*, or tube, and of strings being passed through them and held by the little or the ring-finger, so as to keep the tube steady at the time of the discharge, p. 83b. His account of the *takhsh* bow extends over some seven pages. He gives the names of the various parts, and says that he himself has constructed crossbows. He refers to the repeating, or magazine crossbow, and says that up to seven bolts or arrows can be discharged in succession. He also speaks of some crossbows as having been made of iron.

JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

No. XV.—FORMOSA.

TAIWAN, better known to Europeans by the name of Formosa after many changes of suzerainty, has passed into the hands of the Japanese. In the year 1895, after the conclusion of the war between China and Japan, it was ceded to the latter as part of the war indemnity, being handed over to the victors, who have since that date seriously undertaken the task of civilization and State administration of the island.

Like all ocean islands peopled with various races, the history of Formosa is full of incident and interest, though by no means has a full record been kept.

Surrounded by seas, Tung Hai, or the Eastern Sea, on the north; by Nan Hai, or the South Sea, on the south; within the influence of the Pacific on the east; and bounded by the wide-stretching Straits of Formosa on the west, it dips like a note of interrogation into the vast expanse of waters, whose importance, and over whose ultimate supremacy, there is bound to be in the future much dispute. The area of Formosa is enclosed within 25° and 26° latitude, and 120° to 125° longitude. On the south stretches away a cluster of islands and islets belonging to America and consequently constituting part of American interests in the Far East. These are the Philippines.

Formosa is at present the most distant of Japan's dependencies or colonies. A journey of between 400 or 500 miles by water has to be undertaken to reach it from the Mother Country.

Formosa was parted with somewhat willingly by the Chinese—that is, if we may believe reports. The community inhabiting the island being a lawless and rebellious people, mostly savage and uncivilized, were not considered of much account. Savage tribes preponderated, but more of other nations—Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, Philippines, and a few Chinese—contributed to swell the number of inhabitants. However difficult the task of taming and educating these people seemed to be, and eventually turning them into useful citizens, the Japanese did not shirk the responsibility of such an undertaking; in fact, they willingly embraced the work, which they felt would ultimately redound to their credit. They did not shut their eyes to the fact that they were undertaking untried experiences. Silently and conscientiously believing in their own powers of organization, the bargain was satisfactorily concluded between those personages charged with the negotiations on either side.

So many wonderful changes having occurred in the history of the Japanese during the last fifty years, their capabilities have been exercised to the full. They have undertaken work never dreamed of during the term of Great Peace. Each new difficulty proved an immense source of intellectual interest, as well as careful administration. The men whose energies have to-day made Japan great are those who were the first to risk everything in the past. In the days when the West was revealed, they were the willing students who enjoyed to the full their journeys to foreign countries, concerning whose language, manners, and customs were all new and untried ordeals. The zest and ardour with which they entered into the ranks of pioneering the way for others had all the excitement of a game of chance. What chaos might have ensued had it not been for the bright star of loyalty that burnt in each

heart—loyalty of the purest quality, that flings its ceaseless halo round the enchantment of the Land of the Risen Sun. And greater still, as long as this most noble characteristic is preserved and fostered, will it become.

The present Emperor of Japan rules over many men of many minds. His subjects are varied in degrees of savage ignorance, or of highly-developed intellectuality, as, for instance, the contrast between those who dwell in Taiwan and those who inhabit Karafuto and Yezo is indeed very great.

The Ainu of Yezo, the extreme north, have been described in our April number. In the Japan-British Exhibition a small gathering of people from the northern and extreme southern possessions were placed in our midst.

The mild Ainu, barbaric, still in many ways quiet, gentle, inert, and contented to-day, brought with them a savour of Old Japan. The Ainu contrasted widely with the furious "head-hunters," who sojourned for the time being in the Formosa Sha at Shepherd's Bush, for their warlike weapons were always ready to hand, decorated with trophies of human hair depending therefrom. The very manner in which these men prepared and consumed their food was a sufficient guarantee of their savage descent. Nevertheless, we are glad to have seen them, for we are enabled thereby the better to understand the difficulties their new rulers will have to encounter, and to congratulate the Japanese on their success, if success finally crowns their efforts.

Taiwan is a beautiful island, fertile and full of useful and valuable forestry, as well as possessing many commodities which are required for daily consumption. There are huge forests of camphor and cedar-trees. Both are in demand, and are worth many million of yen, for the cedar-trees particularly are the finest in the world. This is the result of the absence of civilization. The aborigines, having little care for refinement or luxury, have long been in a state of inertia and absence of ambition. The forestry was allowed to attain its natural growth, unmolested and safe from the woodman's axe.

The management of the camphor trade is entirely in the hands of the Government. It was decided from the first to adopt a "monopoly system." Firstly, in order only to produce and put on to the market camphor of a good quality ; and secondly, to regulate its production, so as to keep up the standard of excellence, and thereby organize a steady and unfluctuating supply as possible.

The aromatic wood of the camphor tree (*Laurus camphora*, L. ; *Kusunoki*, Jap.) is known to most of us. The fragrance that it conveys imparts a certain sentiment, that gives to all merchandize from the East of small articles a certain hall-mark of genuineness. We involuntarily seek to convince ourselves that what is offered as Japanese in manufacture is truly so by reason of this subtle and unmistakable scent. Boxes inlaid with various tinted woods, cabinets, trays, toys, and endless little inexpensive treasures, as well as dainty boxes made especially to convey gifts from one person to another, are all prepared of aromatic woods. There is a sentiment that lingers round camphor, owing to the brave Kusunoki Masashigé of the Middle Ages, whose loyalty is as enduring as the fragrance of the wood whose name he bears—lasting and purely Oriental in its true and noble quality—Kusu-no-ki Masashigé, at whose death no camphor-tree was allowed to be felled by royal decree for a certain number of years. This decree, which was in honour of the brave deeds of this illustrious soldier, is known to every Japanese soldier.

The process of extracting camphor for medical and other purposes differs in different parts of Japan and Japanese possessions where the Kusu-no-ki abounds ; but the best methods resorted to is that of hacking and chipping up the wood of a certain age, and placing it in a vat of water over a steady fire ; then, by a clever contrivance conducting the steam as it rises and forms from the simmering chips into boxes and tanks, where it is finally located, collected, and separated from the camphor-oil, which also exudes during this process of steaming and preparation. Both

finally become marketable substances, and are in great request.

Camphor-oil is burnt in lamps, but unfortunately it creates much smoke if not very carefully attended to.

Camphor itself, in the solid form, is used for other purposes beside medicine. It is invaluable for the lacquer industry, where it is selected as a refining and liquefying agent. It aids the lacist to procure a smooth and flowing quality, highly acceptable during the process or processes of the work. By the commingling of lac in its raw state, and camphor in its solidity, the one influences the other, so that when judiciously incorporated by means of a spoon or spatule, liquefaction sets in, and the lacquer becomes perfectly amenable to the requirements of the lacquer artist. Camphor is largely prescribed for diseases of the eye, from which the people of the Far East especially suffer, owing to the primitive method of warming their huts. At one time ophthalmia and even blindness were attributed to the eating of so much rice, but the real danger and cause of eye diseases lies in the manner in which a fire is lighted in one house, and holes are bored to admit the passing of the smoke through the dividing walls of the whole block. Thus the interior of many homes is choked with inodorous fumes, most injurious to the eyes. Camphor has been used for the purpose of embalming, but the immense quantity needed to reduce a corpse into an almost imperishable mummy was too expensive to be undertaken very often, even by relations of noble families.

It has been calculated that no less than 10,000 camphor trees are felled annually, but in order not to destroy so valuable an industry and so useful a gift of nature, vast forests are replanted to take their place for future use. The camphor laurel is indigenous to other countries in the East — Borneo, Sumatra, Egypt, and so forth. Like everything else, there are varieties of this useful tree and bush, varying in their value by reason of their excellence and utility.

Formosa is noted for its teas, especially for that kind which comes to us under the name of Oolong. It is long in the leaf, and of an agreeable flavour, but too pungent to partake of, according to our English tastes, without being first judiciously blended. This tea was much *en evidence* at the Japan - British Exhibition, where a special tea-house was erected for its consumption, and where different qualities could be obtained for trial. The remainder left on the hands of the Japanese at the close of the season was purchased by Messrs. Ridgway, of London, and is offered now to the public in caskets of dainty make, embossed with chrysanthemum and tea-blossom.

Formerly, owing to the somewhat repulsive method of preparing this leaf for the market, Oolong was shunned; but we have lately been assured that the process of treading the leaf by natives, which was resorted to in order to preserve the peculiar flavour from mechanical appliances, has been abandoned. The contact with metal was supposed to have deprived this particular and highly fragrant tea of its virtues. It is now prepared much like all other tea placed on the market.

Opium is still greatly in demand among the natives. This pernicious product has had the most demoralizing effect. It is the most difficult problem to cope with. Great restrictions are placed upon its consumption, so much so that it was prohibited to be indulged in by those who had not already contracted opium-smoking previous to the Japanese taking possession of the island; or, if insisted on, the drug is supplied at almost prohibitive prices. The Japanese Government has had to show an immense deal of firmness, tact, and forbearance in the matter. In ten years 40,000 smokers abandoned the fatal vice, but the possibility of utterly stamping it out altogether is not yet within sight.

Coal is found in large quantities near Kelung in the extreme north, therefore it will prove convenient for exportation. It is principally that known as the "fatty".

quality; nevertheless, it is good and useful, and worthy to compete with the various other kinds of coal found within Japanese territory.

Salt is also abundant, and a valuable article of commerce under Government supervision.

Sulphur springs abound in the north of Formosa. Tobacco is not unknown. Rice, sugar, sweet potatoes, barley, wheat, beans and peas, pea-nuts, Sesame, millet, mountain indigo, tree indigo, and indigo balls, are all reckoned among the agricultural products, increasing in value yearly, in consequence of the better cultivation of the land and the spirit of commercial enterprise.

The mineral products are gold, gold-dust, and silver, added to those above-mentioned of coal and sulphur.

Raw material for clothing, consisting of jute, hemp, and flax, flow into the market.

Among the fauna of the island may be enumerated deer, wild boar, bear, goat, monkey, squirrels, and flying squirrels, panther, wild cat, and occasionally green snake. Of birds, pheasant, ducks and geese, snipe, flycatcher, kingfisher, shrike, lark, and others may be named. Turtle, flying fish, and several kinds of shell-fish abound. These last form a substantial item of food, as well as exportation, to the motherland.

The Japanese are extremely energetic, for the resources of Taiwan are worth the venture. The work of progress goes steadily forward. There is every reason to hope that all modern inventions and conveniences enjoyed by Europeans will find their footing in this ocean island. There are literally mines of wealth to be worked, and labour will be abundant for skilled and willing hands. Although severe measures were at first necessary, the people are slowly settling down. Education, wise administration, and the dynamic condition is giving to trade a peaceful aspect.

Taiwan is governed by an able administrator, who bears the title of Governor-General. Since 1895 three Governors have resigned. The present is Baron Shimpei Goto, who

holds this important post, and who is very keen to improve and progress with the affairs entrusted to him.

The island of Formosa is 225 miles long, and from 60 to 80 miles wide in the broadest part. It has a coast-line measuring 731 miles. The rich, fertile, productive plain of Giran lies to the east. The soil is prolific. The fine mould that covers the surface will be the agriculturists best confederate. Karenko, Taito, Pinang are also situated to the east; while to the west more islands, nestling, as it were, at the foot of the central mountainous range—Shinchiku, Hakkoko, Taichu Shoka. Rokko and Anping, which are two very important stations, lie lower down, south-west of the island. Communication of all kinds has been established between Anping to the Makung Island and islets that lie near to the opposite shores of China and in the Gulf of Formosa. Takao and Hosan and others are also important places. A railway of the State is laid the whole length of the western side of the island, from Kelung, the coal district, to Takao.

In the north Tamshi, Toshien, and Taikoku are situated. In the last-named, a Ladies' Charity Society has been established, of which the Baroness Goto is the hon. president, and Madame Oshima the president. Of the various works undertaken by this society may be mentioned the performance of charity concerts, relief of ex-criminals, medical relief, housing of the poor in Takao, improvement of the bath-houses in Hokuto, contributions towards the expenses of the boys' night schools, and other charitable institutions.

This method of elevating the poor of Formosa was first tried as early as the seventeenth century, when Koxinga and his family ruled the island for three generations—namely, from 1662 to 1682. During that term an organized system of housing the poor of all ages existed in what was then the northern capital. When, however, the rulership was handed over to the Chinese, this was not carried on in a satisfactory manner, but was more or less abused

and neglected. In 1895 the Japanese, on acquiring this their first colony, with zest and surprising energy, expanded the original intention of Koxinga, and organized charitable institutions in the towns of Tainan, Kagi, and Shoka, as well as the Pescadores. The work is now flourishing under the interest and organization of the Baroness Goto and her able staff. Even during the Japan-Russo War concerts were held for the benefit of the poor; money flowed in, for the concert was a new and delightful experience to the people, who thoroughly appreciated the efforts made on their behalf. The Volunteer Nursing Association, the Ladies' Patriotic League, and the Red Cross Society all benefited by the enthusiasm and sympathy that crowned the artistic efforts of all who participated in the venture.

The home for the relief of ex-criminals has proved most beneficial. Instead of being crowded together after the term of their imprisonment is ended in dirty, over-inhabited homes, they are now kept as far apart as possible, have good healthy employment offered to them, and what is best of all, wherever it is possible, plots of land to cultivate. This always proves an immense source of interest.

But, like everything else undertaken for the benefit of the lower orders of humanity, nothing appeals to them so deeply as care of their bodies during sickness, disease, and epidemics. The medical work is always the first to prosper, and the Red Cross Hospital of Formosa has now its own beds to offer for the comfort of destitute sufferers. The number of free patients amount to many thousands yearly. Thus, in a land where plague and infectious diseases carry off hundreds of one village alone, it can be readily understood, the mitigation of suffering, the comfort afforded by care and kindness, come to be regarded as almost miracles among them.

In Takao, one of the most beautiful ports in Formosa on the southern entrance, there is now erected a neat white building, which stands out in graceful contrast to the glorious

setting of verdure. This building is known by the name of "Hei wa gai," or "Peace Street." It is a settlement exclusively appropriated for the housing and accommodation of poor labourers.*

The Night School for boys may be said to be in a flourishing condition, considering the short time it has been started, which was in 1897. With this school was affiliated the East Gate School, and the new building contains many class-rooms. The Formosa Government contributes 1,000 yen a year, for much help is expected in the future of the young students who are benefiting by the tuition and education which is imparted to them by the qualified staff of teachers.

The industrial enterprises undertaken in Taiwan have already cost the Government of Japan more than £10,000,000, out of which £3,000,000 has been already spent in railways. This has been necessary in order to keep up a rapid communication between Formosa, China, and the Mother Country, for the purpose of transmitting goods, as well as passengers desirous of travelling to and fro on business or pleasure. The Government has spared no pains to make the permanent way a paying concern, and £130,000 was net profit in a very short time.]

There are already no less than 100,000 Japanese residents in Taiwan, many of whom are employed as officials and responsible men, police inspectors, and merchants. The natives, who are of a decidedly savage origin, have to be dealt with with an iron hand, for savages they are, and were likely to remain, were not the most stringent methods adopted in dealing with them. Long left to themselves, even by many foreigners who settled in the island from time to time, the Formosans have indulged in lawless freedom. By nature naturally cruel and barbarous, the pages of their past history are sullied by many dark deeds of atrocity. Now they are being forced back into prescribed

* Report of the Ladies' Charity Society of Formosa, published in Taiho-ku, Formosa, February, 1910.

limits of land, the barriers and boundaries of which are guarded day and night by armed police. Their thirst for blood is very terrible, and as the head hunters are encouraged by their chiefs, their whereabouts have to be closely watched, and their murderous instincts checked with stern determination and heavy punishments. When, however, submission of a genuine nature induces them to accept the protection and rule of the Japanese, it is readily recognised and rewarded.

It is agriculture that will save the land and convert a savage people into a useful community. It will give it ultimately an importance that will reflect glory on Japan's first colony. The mines beneath the soil must also be worked, as well as the soil made productive above. At present the Governor-General is held responsible for the welfare of the people. He issues orders, and his word is law. He has only a council at his command. Legislature, courts of justice, and private lawyers have been qualified to carry on their profession.

There are twenty chief districts, which are sub-divided. There are also *hokō*—viz., a hundred houses, or *Ho-ten*—each of which have their special local chiefs to apply to when necessary. Education is being provided for all classes. The Japanese language will, in all probability, be the language of the future. At present the method of communication by word of mouth from one section or tribe to the other is most unsatisfactory. There is a confused babel of many languages—Chinese, Spanish, American, Dutch, and others. This confusion has retarded the progress considerably in the past; for the interpreters were not to be relied on, and duplicity reached a high-standard of deceit where it could be carried on without detection. Raids by savages were of constant occurrence, perpetual intrigues went on, disloyalty retarded progress. Now a police inspector has been appointed for the whole island, and particular attention is paid to the education of all constables, including the use of firearms and the system

of military drill; for none of the aborigines are allowed to trespass without full consent over the line of demarkation laid down by official jurisdiction.

There are nearly 150 schools—language, normal and technical—where such useful work as laying the telegraphic and telephonic systems can be learnt. The natives are admitted under favourable conditions, if they qualify themselves, in view of accepting useful employment.

Posts have been established between Formosa and other countries, through which no less than 7,516,000 letters proceeded in a very short time. Telegraphs and cables from Kelung to Japan, from Tamsiu to Foochow, have been laid; also telephones, through which no less than 5,116,312 messages passed, both governmental and private.

The above statements prove no slow growth of civilization. It is sure and rapid. Even the natives, indolent, warlike, and aggressive, will wonder at the changes which are passing over the island. They have seen many rulers. The Dutch first established a footing in the island; in the sixteenth century the Spanish and the Portuguese endeavoured to make their sway felt; the Chinese sojourned with this end in view, and remained the longest a paramount power. But, having now been handed over to those to whom territory is an absolute necessity, it will remain Japanese. Its position in regard to the Pacific is of great importance, and the valuable supplies of many articles and substances of commerce will prove of immense interest both now and in the future. It seems, indeed, that Japan intervened at the right moment, and it is hoped she will benefit both herself and her acquisition by her timely aid. Insubordination has mostly been the order of the day, and those who sought to subdue the barbaric natives have sometimes been most cruel and unjust themselves. The Chinese régime did not succeed in the past, for rulers were not judiciously chosen. Those who were entrusted with the

work of civilizing in the past in no way succeeded in the undertaking.

Mount Morrison is the crowning glory of the land, for it far exceeds in height Fuji San, the peerless and beloved sacred mountain of Japan proper. Mount Morrison has deprived Fuji San of the palm of being Japan's highest peak. Mount Morrison is 14,270 feet in height, and has been renamed Niitaka Yama, "New High Mountain." Then, even out-vieing Fuji San, comes Mount Sylvia, which is 12,480 feet, while Fuji San measures 12,365 feet, a height easy to remember because of the 12 for the months and the 365 for the days of the year. Mount Sylvia has been renamed also by the Japanese, and is now called Setzuzan, "The Snowy Mountain." Mount Morrison is just under the Tropic of Cancer, which runs through the Island of Formosa.

The eastern shore presents a remarkable appearance. Magnificent cliffs from 1,500 to 2,500 feet rise up in wonderful grandeur sheer from the sea. These form suitable ramparts against forces from without, taking off the violence of the typhoons and wind storms prevalent during certain times of the year. The rivers lie on the western side, of which the Kotansui and the Seinakai are the most important. Earthquakes occur from time to time. Sulphur springs abound. Snow is almost unknown. The climate is damp and hot, at times unhealthy and malarious. The vegetation of all kinds is very fine; both trees and flowers are abundant. Forests clothe the slopes of Mount Morrison for 6,000 feet upwards, orchids and lilies and trailing plants spring and flourish, for Nature confiscates to her use the slopes of the mountains and clothes them in rich colouring. Mount Morrison, although in height it exceeds Fuji San, is not so imposing, for it rises gently out of the long range of hills and lower mountains, and therefore does not compete with Fuji San's almost isolated grandeur.

Lighthouses guard in solemn state the island on every

side. Many have been erected, and there are good harbours provided for every contingency. All is being seen to and undertaken that will tend to ultimate prosperity. Therefore it is to be hoped that in time this island colony will become a fair and beautiful possession of Dai Nippon.

Standard works on Formosa, together with native Japanese publications, have been consulted and researched.

EARLY ETHIOPIA AND SONGHAY.

BY FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

IN the list of early Kings of Abyssinia (or Ethiopia), given by Henry Salt in his "Voyage to Abyssinia," 1814, pp. 460-461, and copied by him from the "Tareek Negushti," or "Chronicle of the Kings of Abyssinia," some thirty of the names are compounded with the prefix "Za"—Za Hendedyu, Za Awsyu, Za Tsawe, Zagesyu, etc. These extend from Menelek, the reputed son of Solomon, King of Israel, and Makeda, Queen of Sheba, to about the middle of the third century of our era, a period—more or less legendary—of some thirteen centuries. The prefix "Za" has given rise to some speculation. Salt himself suggested that it might indicate "the shepherd kings or original Ethiopians" (*op. cit.*, p. 461). A later French Orientalist, M. E. Drouin,* says it is possible that "Za" may have the same origin as the Himyarite Dzou, Dhou or Dou, the Arabic particle used by the Himyarite Princes, and which seems to have the meaning of "master," "possessor of."

Is it possible that light can be thrown on these Za Kings who ruled at Axum by the list of Princes of Songhay, or Songhai, as preserved in "Tarikh es-Soudan" ("History of the Sudan")? This work, of which abstracts were given

* "Les Listes Royales Éthiopiennes et leur autorité historique," Paris, 1882 (Extrait de *La Revue Archéologique*, Août, Septembre et Octobre, 1882), pp. 49 and 33.

in Henry Barth's Travels, was wrongly supposed by that traveller to have been written by Ahmed Baba. Its author was, however, Abderrahman ben Abdallah ben 'Imran ben 'Amir es-Sa'di (or Es-Sâ'idi), and it was written about the year 1655 or 1656.* Although called a "History of the Sudan," it deals only with the history of the Songhaï Empire and the occupation by Morocco of the region of the bend of the middle Niger River. Es-Sa'di gives a list of the Princes who reigned over Songhaï before the Moroccan conquest, in the year 999 of the Hejira (A.D. 1591). Of these, the names of the first thirty-one—the coincidence of the number with Salt's thirty Axum Kings is curious—all begin with "Za." M. Houdas prints this with the circumflex, "Zâ"—Zâ-Alayaman or Zâ-Al-Ayaman, Zâ-Zakoï, Zâ-Takoï, etc. M. Felix Dubois, in his "Tombouctou le Mystérieux," 1897, p. 117, transliterates the prefix "Dia"—Dialliaman, Dia Arkai, Dia Atkai, etc. The fifteenth in succession of these Songhaï Princes, Zâ-Kosoï, embraced Islam in the year 400 of the Hejira (A.D. 1009-1010). This would carry back the progenitor of the line, Zâ-Al-Ayaman (who, in spite of his name, had probably no connection with the Arabian province of Yaman or Yemen), to about A.D. 700. The Songhaï (or Songhay) Empire appears to have been a native state, and the names of the Princes, with three exceptions, are not Arabic in character. They have a more barbaric and rugged look, and are in this respect reminiscent of the names of the early Kings of Axum.

Es-Sa'di writes (Paris edition, 1900, p. 6): "As to the name of the first of these Princes, Zâ-Al-Ayaman, it had for origin the phrase, *Dja men el-Yemen* ('He has come from Yemen'). It is related, in fact, that this personage, accompanied by his brother, quitted Yemen to traverse the world, and that destiny conducted the two travellers to the

* This work, edited by O. Houdas, was published in Arabic, and with a French translation, by Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1900, 2 vols., 8vo. A copy is in the library of the Royal Geographical Society, London.

town of Koukiya—a very ancient city, built on the bank of the river* in the territory of Songhaï. This town existed already in the time of Pharaoh, and it was from it, it is said, that he brought the troop of magicians whom he employed in the controversy with Moses.

"The two brothers arrived at Koukiya in a most pitiable condition. They had lost all human form, they were so dirty and exhausted, and their nakedness was hardly covered by the strips of skins of wild beasts thrown over their bodies. When asked whence they came, the elder replied, 'He comes from Yemen' (*Dja men el-Yemen*). From that time they call him *Zâ-Al-Ayaman*, altering the pronunciation of the words somewhat, as the men of the country find a difficulty in reproducing the sounds, on account of their barbarous and stupid language."

Probably this is only an Arab attempt, in a way which is very popular, not only amongst them, but even in our own country, to explain the etymology of a name. The clumsiness of the explanation is seen in the words being in the third person singular instead of the first person plural, which the speaker would naturally have used, as the two brothers had travelled together. Perhaps the Arab writer was himself ignorant of the true meaning of the prefix "Zâ." This prefix would rather seem to be a title, and the name "Al-Ayaman" would appear to mean "the Yamanite," or "the man of Yemen." M. Houdas does not take the name as any proof that the brothers came from Yemen; it would only tend to show (he says) that they were Berbers, for the Berbers for the greater part believe themselves to be originally from Yemen. This belief they hold in common with many of the tribes in Nubia and the Eastern Sudan, who are undoubtedly autochthonous, but have assumed an Arabic nationality and origin with the Arabic religion, though perhaps there may be a mixture of Arab blood also.

* The river now called the Niger, but which was not known by this name in Es-Sa'di's time.

Is there any connection between these *Za* Princes of Songhay and the *Za* Kings of Axum? In each case the prefix would seem to be a title rather than a part of the name. In Songhay these Princes were succeeded by a series of rulers whose names all have the prefix "Sonni." In the names of the Axumite Kings, as given by Bruce, Dillmann, and Drouin, the "*Za*" is absent, so that it is evidently not an integral part of the personal names. In each case it is undoubtedly a title, and its use in the two widely separated principalities would seem to indicate some community of origin.

Ethnologists are agreed as to the derivation of the Bahima (or Wahuma) ruling race around the great African lakes from the Ethiopic (Abyssinian or Galla) stock. Abyssinia (Habesch) itself, as its name implies, is a mixture of Arab immigrants with autochthonous races, and whilst their blood and their influence impregnated the whole of North-East Africa, causing many of the aboriginal races to claim Arabian origin, they may also have penetrated to what we now call the Niger River in the Western Sudan. There seems to be nothing inherently improbable, therefore, in the *Za* Princes of Songhay having, through Ethiopia, a connection with Arabia, even though their progenitor, Al-Ayaman, may not have come from Yemen himself. This early Arabian infiltration would have proceeded westwards through the fertile Sudan along the southern borders of the inhospitable Sahara, which then, as now, formed a more effectual barrier than the Mediterranean between Africa and Europe.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I see that M. René Basset, a learned French Orientalist, gives an explanation of the meaning of "*Za*" which differs from that of M. Drouin. One of the holy men who evangelized Abyssinia from Egypt in the fifth century was called Abbâ Aragaïoui, or *Za-Mikâël*, the latter name meaning (M. Basset adds) "he who belongs to Michael" (*celui qui appartient à Michel*).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 14, 1911, a paper was read by Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., on "Indian Currency Policy."* Sir David Miller Barbour was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir John David Rees, K.C.L.E., C.V.O., Sir William S. Meyer, K.C.L.E., Sir James Digges La Touché, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.L.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles J. Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.L.E., Nawabzada Mir Ali Nawaz Khan of Khairpur, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Lady Wilson, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.L.E., Mr. F. C. Harrison, C.S.I., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. P. C. Lyon, C.S.I., Captain Raleigh, Mr. Elias Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. J. Begg, Mr. J. Walsh, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. J. B. Patel, Kumar Shri Chandradevji of Dharampur, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. K. Vyasa Rao, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. A. Wadia, Mr. Reginald Murray, Mr. H. M. Kisch, Mr. J. W. H. Smith, Mr. M. Frewen, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. Tara Singh, Mr. Balak Ram, Mr. A. F. Simson, Mrs. Rosher, Mr. A. Langley, Mr. E. H. Hare, Mr. E. Twentymann, Mr. J. O. Miller, Mr. T. Watt Smyth, Miss Massey, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. W. Breuninger, Mr. Charles Nissim, Mr. E. N. Molesworth-Hepworth, Mr. Austin Low, Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.L.E., Mr. Scrymgeour, and Dr. John Pollen, C.L.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: We have met to-day to hear a paper by Sir James Wilson on "Indian Currency Policy." The subject is an important one. Sir James, as no doubt most of you know, served for a great many years in India; the greater portion of that time he was employed in the Punjab, and his official position was such as to give him every opportunity of making himself acquainted with the circumstances of the rural and agricultural population. He was also attached for some time to the Government of India, and served in the Revenue Department, which gave him an opportunity of ascertaining the condition of the rural population throughout India generally, and consequently he was enabled to compare the con-

* The article on this subject appeared in our July number, pp. 1-61.

dition of the people of the Punjab with the people of the other provinces of India. You will therefore see that he has had every opportunity, owing to his official experience, of being able to form a judgment on the results of the change of the silver standard of India to gold, and we may expect his paper to be both interesting and valuable. I need say nothing more, but will now call upon him to read his paper. (Applause.)

Sir James Wilson then read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, Sir James Wilson has dealt in his paper, at some length, with the effects, financial and economic, of the change of the Indian standard from silver to gold. On these matters I do not propose to say anything at present, but will leave the discussion to those of you who may wish to take part in it. He has also referred to my share in bringing about the change, and on that point I will say a very few words in justice to myself, and also to others.

If there are any persons present who would like to obtain information as to the use of gold and silver in the past as standards of value, and as to the causes which led to the change of the Indian standard of value from silver to gold, I would refer them to the statements which I made in the Legislative Council of the Government of India on June 26, 1893.

I will not repeat what I then said, but will confine myself to explaining, how it happened that I, who had for years been opposed to the closing of the Indian mints, came to change my opinion, and to become the chief agent, or one of the chief agents, in bringing about that change at the time at which it was made. The first suggestion to close the Indian mints to silver did not come from me. That measure was advocated by many persons before I took it up. I remember that it was supported by two very distinguished men—the late General Sir Richard Strachey, and the late General Sir George Chesney—both men of whom the Indian Service should be proud. (Hear, hear.) But I think that the man who is entitled to the credit, whatever it may be, of first putting forward the proposal and supporting it by elaborate arguments, is the late Colonel Smith, R.E., who was for many years Master of the Mint in India. His first essay on the subject is dated May 1, 1876.

I might also mention that there is a gentleman here present—Sir Lesley Probyn—who for many years advocated that change, and with whom I did not always agree, but our disagreements never led to any interruption of the respect and friendship I had for him.

At the time the proposal was first made there existed a very serious objection to the change to the gold standard. When the fall in the price of silver first occurred it was universally held in England that the change was due to what was called depreciation of silver, and it was said by all who considered the question in England, and especially by the most distinguished financial authority of the day, Mr. Walter Bagehot, that a rise in silver prices would follow, and a new equilibrium would be established. That view was put forward before the Select Committee under the presidency of Mr. Goschen, afterwards Lord Goschen. But when the matter came to be more carefully investigated it was found that the change was in gold prices, which had fallen largely, and that silver prices were nearly

stable. If we are to use the terms "appreciation" and "depreciation" at all, we must say that, in the first instance, gold had appreciated, and not that silver had depreciated. This fall in gold prices was followed by a profound depression of trade and industry in England and other countries using the gold standard. A Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the matter, and reported that a material portion, at any rate, of that depression was due to appreciation of gold. In view of this fact, and of the further fact that the production of gold was stationary, or dwindling, it was simply out of the question to think of establishing a gold standard in India at that time, whether at the exchange of 2s. for the rupee, or at any other rate of exchange.

An attempt was then made to go back to the old system of double legal tender, and the contest lasted for a good many years with fluctuating fortune. In the end I had to confess to myself that we were beaten, though to this day I believe it will yet be acknowledged that it would have been better for the world to have settled the matter by international agreement. (Hear, hear.)

When the battle was decided against us I would have gladly retired from the field; but, owing to my official position, I could not. Fortunately, there appeared a gleam of light. In the first instance, we had been dealing with appreciation of gold—that is, a fall in gold prices. Now we had arrived at depreciation of silver, for silver prices were distinctly rising.

By changing to a gold standard, at a rate considerably below 2s. for the rupee, we should escape the effects of the appreciation of gold; at the same time, by closing the mints to silver we should escape the depreciation of silver. There was also every prospect of a largely increased production of gold. I came to the conclusion that the time had come for the closing of the Indian mints to silver; and the lecturer to-day, by the figures he has put before you, has shown that there has been no appreciation of the Indian standard, as the result of closing the Indian mints to silver, but, on the contrary, a certain amount of depreciation has been disclosed. (Hear, hear.)

In coming to that conclusion I abandoned the friends who, for twenty years, had fought side by side with me for the old system of double legal tender. What that meant to me I need not explain. I think they recognized the difficulty of my position, for they never reproached me for deserting them, and I refer particularly to Mr. Moreton Frewen, who still advocates the system of double legal tender.

I gave the first indication of what was coming in the Financial Statement for 1891-1892. I then said: "I have no right to commit the Government of India to any opinion on the subject, but it is my belief that, in case of necessity, the gold standard could be established in India, and that, if America altogether abandons silver, it would probably be best that India should change her standard."

For this remark I was reproved by the Secretary of State for India in an official despatch, and I think that was the only occasion when my services in connection with the introduction of the gold standard were ever officially noticed, either favourably or unfavourably (laughter). But the terms of the

reproof were not very severe, and in two years from that time I was authorized to introduce into the Legislative Council the Bill which laid the foundation of the Indian gold standard.

The proposals which I laid before the Government were to the effect that the Indian mints should be closed to the coinage of silver, that no final rate of exchange should be fixed for the present, but that the Government should undertake not to allow the exchange to rise above 1s. 6d. for the rupee, and should be guided by circumstances after the mints were closed. My advice was taken, with the exception that, on the advice of a Committee which sat in England, the maximum rate was fixed at 1s. 4d. instead of at 1s. 6d.

It is sometimes said that the gold standard was introduced on the advice of a Committee, presided over by the late Lord Herschell. I take this opportunity of bearing testimony to the sympathy which Lord Herschell showed with India in her currency difficulties, and we owe him a debt of gratitude; but the proposal for a gold standard, and the method of carrying it out, came from me.

My proposals were accepted by the Government of India. They were sent to the Secretary of State for India, and he then referred them to Lord Herschell's Committee, by whom they were approved, the maximum limit for the rupee being altered from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 4d.; but, to the best of my recollection, the Secretary of State did not exhibit any marked degree of enthusiasm on the subject. (Laughter.)

The mints were closed, and the gold standard established without costing a penny. Sir James Wilson has told you of its effect on the people of India, and on the trade of India. Its effects on the financial position are obvious. I have not calculated what the direct gain by the Government of India in the matter of exchange since the mints were closed amounts to, but it must be enormous, some 70 or 80 million pounds sterling.

Since the closing of the mints has proved a success there have been many claimants for a share of the credit. Sometimes I am almost driven to look up the papers of the time to satisfy myself that I had anything to do with it, but I check any feeling of vanity by reflecting that if I had not proposed the measure at the time I did, somebody else would probably have done so a little later. I can assure you there was no competition for any share of the possible future glory at the time the Act was passed in 1893, and many authorities prophesied disaster. I am under a deep obligation to Sir James Mackay for the assistance he gave to me at the time. He threw himself into the cause with his usual energy and ability, and he carried great weight with the commercial community. The measure could hardly have been put through in 1893 without his assistance.

Other claims to a share of the glory are numerous, but you may safely reject all claims based on anything done after the mints were closed. Whatever was done after then was a matter of routine, and was done to carry out a policy to which the Government were committed, and was done in accordance with the procedure and plan laid down.

I think it is Carlyle who tells a story of the Queen of one of the islands

in the Pacific who was converted to Christianity, and wished her people to follow her, but they refused to do so, because they were afraid of the Deity, who was believed to live in a very active volcano in the centre of the island. She adopted a rather Oriental method of showing her contempt for that Deity; she summoned all her people to this mountain, and in their presence she advanced to the crater and cast in her shoe. The people were horror-struck, but nothing followed, and they all accepted the change of religion. Since that date it has been rather fashionable for the young ladies of that island—so the story goes—to cast their slippers into this crater in imitation of the Queen; but I think you will all agree with me that the only real courage—and some people would call it rashness—was shown by the person who first cast the shoe. At any rate, if that Queen was half as anxious about the possible results of her exploit as I was about the results of closing the mints, I am sure she came to the conclusion that one such adventure was enough for a lifetime. (Hear, hear.)

MR. REGINALD MURRAY said that he appeared simply as a man in the street, and had no desire whatever to pose as an expert, but he had been in a position to see the effects of the fluctuations of exchange before the closing of the mints in India, and also the after-results of that policy. As time necessitated his confining his attention to the summary of suggestions, he would remark that with reference to the first six paragraphs they seemed to offer a contradiction as to free and restricted issue of currency. He thought that the Bill, as it stood in 1898, by which the Government offered to give rupees for gold, should be allowed to stand. Speaking as a banker, he was of opinion that it would seriously interfere with the finances of the banks to restrict the issue of rupees as required. He did not, however, think it desirable to attempt to force the sovereign on the public. He well recollected the time spoken of by the lecturer—he was in Calcutta at the time—when a very large quantity of rupees was sent out by the mint, within a few months, but it was owing to the extraordinary scarcity of rupees at the time. It was a well-known fact that during the jute season the custom was to pay for jute only in rupees; in fact, the people in the jute-growing districts would not take notes, and they did not want gold. It happened, too, that this demand came upon the market when the local warehouses were full of imports, against which the banks had been called upon to make large advances. Hence a large quantity of rupees was necessary. The usual course for banks was to supply themselves with funds by getting out Council Bills and sovereigns from London, and cashing them at the Treasury; but one occasion, when these were presented, the Treasury could only give out eight-anna pieces, the scarcity of rupees was so great. That was a very dangerous state of things, and at a meeting of bankers, called by Sir Edward Law, the Finance Minister, it was mutually agreed that a sufficient reserve of silver ought to be kept in hand to prevent a similar occurrence, and the consequence was the very large number of rupees coined at that time, perhaps in excess of demand, although he did not think that excess had any material effect upon prices of commodities or exchange. No rupees were issued to anyone as a present, but only for value received, and as they did not increase the spending power

of any individual, he failed to see how the excess coinage mentioned could then, or at any time, have any effect on the price of commodities or exchange.

Then it was suggested there should be a gold mint in India. He thought that as increasing amounts of gold came into India, and was used as currency or otherwise, there should be a mint to receive gold if holders wished to dispose of it, and coin it into sovereigns. He could not agree with the suggestion No. 4, and he thought such regulations should not be made, but that each circumstance amounting to one of difficulty should be taken on its own particular merits, as it arose.

In conclusion, he desired to say that, with regard to the suggestion No. 9, he was thoroughly in accordance with it. (Applause.)

MR. MORETON FREWEN, M.P., said he hoped he would not be in any way misunderstood as being less grateful for a very interesting and valuable paper if he ventured to differ entirely from the conclusions of Sir James Wilson. It seemed to him they were congratulating themselves upon the success of the change of standard in India, whereas he believed that in a few years' time, if they met in this hall, they would probably have arrived at a very opposite conviction. He believed they were now but just entering upon a most extraordinarily interesting chapter in the history of the world's currency. The great awakening of China was to-day uppermost in his mind, and he could see that her competition with India during the next twenty years would be of a very fierce character. He could only attribute the great success—which Sir James would have them believe had attended that extraordinary currency alteration in India—to the rise of gold prices in Europe. India and the rest of the world had, before 1893, been trading with falling prices. Since then they have been suddenly confronted with the great rise of gold prices, and he felt certain that, if only the Indian mints had been kept open, the demand for silver on the part of India and China would have been so enormous that it would have left very little silver on the world's market. As it was, unobserved by economists, statesmen or bankers, there had been a great fall in the gold price of silver; silver fell nearly 1s. an ounce in eighteen months (in 1906-1908). The effect, as he saw it on the trades of the Pacific coast of America, was phenomenal; whereas ships from the Pacific to Asia had, until 1807, been sailing out full, and returning practically empty, the conditions were immediately reversed, with the great break in exchange; now the ships went practically empty and returned full—full of pig-iron, beans, cotton products—mainly because of the awakening of Chinese industry stimulated by lower rates of exchange.

He related that great fall in the price of silver—an almost unprecedented fall—to the attitude of the Indian Government. After giving evidence last year before the Monetary Commission at Washington, he had determined as an Englishman always to sound this note of warning when discussing this great problem. Our tampering with the currency of our wards was to American students of currency inexplicable; it seemed in the highest degree immoral to every foreign economist. He instanced the effect of the closing of the mints in the case of the vast hoards of silver ornaments which had been accumulated

by the melting down of their rupees by the Indian natives. There was the well-known instance of the head-man of the two famine-stricken villages near Allahabad, who had come in to Allahabad in the famine of 1896 with 2,000 tolas, expecting as with open mints to receive for 2,000 tolas 2,000 rupees. This man found but one buyer—a native shroff—and sold his hoard not for 2,000 rupees, but for 600 rupees only. Not only was there this great reduction in the number of rupees obtained by the natives for their hoards, but, as Sir James Wilson had pointed out, the purchasing power of the rupee when obtained was also greatly reduced. There had been, as the paper showed, a phenomenal rise of food-prices in India, owing no doubt to the recent inflation of the currency there by the Government. The question was becoming one not merely for the intellect, but for the conscience of the Government of India. Again, the fall in the price of silver, occasioned by the closing of the Indian mints, was directly subsidizing the manufactured exports of China at the expense of white men's industries. Pig-iron delivered f.o.b. Hankau at 16 taels per ton four years since, at the then rate of silver exchange, cost the Western buyer three sovereigns, but to-day only two sovereigns. The first steel-rolling mill at Hankau, now rolling steel rails of the best quality, had been recently visited by Mr. Watson, the Inspector of the United States Steel Corporation. Mr. Watson reported that the cost of the Chinese labour for this mill was one-fifteenth only of the wages paid by his company at Pittsburgh, while the efficiency was no less than 90 per cent. the efficiency of the white man. The competition engendered by the recent collapse of silver exchange is perfectly well understood by every merchant trading with the Orient, and the profits of these trades are largely, in many cases entirely contingent on the present low rates for silver.

MR. HARRISON, C.S.I., thought it would be best if he confined his remarks to that aspect of the case with which he was most familiar. When the Government attempted to place the silver currency of India on a parity with gold, they had only two courses open to them—either to use gold or to use a substitute. As the production of gold had quadrupled within the last twenty years, on that ground alone it was preferable to use it rather than a substitute. Moreover, systems of currency managed by Government were always open to strong objection. If practicable, it was therefore best to let the people manage their own currency affairs. So long as India would not use the sovereign effectively, the Government must continue to give rupees, for it was absolutely essential to supply money in the form the people desired. An attempt could and should be made to induce the people to use gold, but it must not be forced upon them. The heart of success lay in always being ready to receive gold, and in giving it freely in the form and manner in which it might be demanded.

As to the important question of the gold reserve, and where it should be kept, gold was preferable to securities. It was better to have gold ready when it was wanted than to sell securities and go into the market to buy gold when gold was dear. If a famine was anticipated,

grain should be stored. If a drought was feared, reservoirs of water were desirable—not deposits for grain, or title-deeds of land! If the gold was held in London, there was also a tendency to discount it. Under the circumstances, therefore, he would say hold the reserve in India. (Hear, hear.)

Then, as to utilizing the reserve, which should be in gold, surely the profits made by manipulating the currency of a country should be employed in improving that currency. There was plenty of scope for improvement in the monetary and bank-note systems, and that, in his opinion, was a better line of action than treating the profits as ordinary revenue.

MR. WADYA said this was a subject in which he was very much interested. He would like to ask if the fixing of the rupee at 1s. 4d. had resulted in such a flow of good things as stated by the lecturer, why not raise the price to 2s., and so bring untold wealth to the country?

He thought that great hardship had been inflicted on the people of India through the closing of the mints, especially during the famines of 1896 and 1900, when the people were only able to obtain about 60 rupees instead of 100 rupees for 100 tolas of silver. As it stood, there was no doubt that the currency policy of India had been a success, but it had been obtained at the sacrifice of precious lives during famine years, and other hardships too numerous to mention.

Certainly, when the mints were closed, the permission to do so was grudgingly given, and on the assurance of the Government of India that bankruptcy would be the end if mints were not closed, the Government recommendation of 1s. 6d. to the rupee was modified by the Herschell Commission by fixing the rupee at 1s. 4d. He had read the finding of that Commission, and he thought it was a very honest finding.

Of late the prices of produce had risen owing to large production of gold in the world, and every tiller of the soil was now getting better value for his crops. When people talked of prosperity, they must look to the state of the country as a whole and to the health of the people, especially with regard to the plague of malaria, before it could be said that India was prosperous and flourishing, and not look only to exports and imports, not to say large annual imports of precious metals.

SIR WILLIAM MEYER said that, as a Madras man, he must take exception to the statement as to prices paid in Madras, and that the agricultural labourer had not benefited by the present situation, because that statement was based on returns which were quite unreliable as regarded Madras. He held that wages had gone up considerably there, and, moreover, they were largely paid in kind rather than in coin. As to the allegation of Mr. Moreton Frewen that a man suffered heavily by getting only 600 rupees for his 1,000 tolas, it was not worth very much; if the mints had not been closed, and the man had got 1,000 rupees for his 1,000 tolas, Sir James Wilson had shown that their value would have been very much less in the way of purchasing power. He did not deny that there was a certain amount of loss to particular individuals, but that was the case in all economic changes. It must be remembered, too, that persons investing

in silver ornaments after the closure of the mints would get more of these for their rupees than formerly. As for the startling picture of Chinese competition, he was somewhat incredulous. They had often heard about China's military aspirations; now they heard she was to become a great industrial power; but how a country which could not hit upon a decent coinage was to become a great industrial power he was afraid he could not quite understand!

The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on Sir James Wilson to reply, I should like to refer to one or two statements that have been made. One speaker said that if you make people wealthy by fixing the rupee at 1s. 4d., why not make them still more wealthy by fixing it at 2s.? The answer is that you do not directly alter the wealth of the country, either by way of increase or decrease, by altering the standard of value. If you give the people a good standard of value in exchange for a bad one, you facilitate trade and industry, and thereby increase, indirectly, the future wealth of the country. I would never have agreed to fixing the rupee at 2s., because such a change might have led to a great fall in prices, causing hardship and loss to many classes of the community. As to the theory that a country is given an advantage in international trade by a depreciating currency, I do not believe in it; I never have believed in it; and I have not the slightest doubt that it is based on a fallacy. All trade between different countries is, in the ultimate analysis, an exchange of commodities for commodities, and money is merely the medium by which that exchange is carried out. One speaker referred to the glorious times for Western America when the ships from the Pacific Coast were going with full cargoes to China and coming back empty. In other words, the people of that coast were specially prosperous when they were sending their goods to China and getting nothing in return! Then a change took place; exchange fell; the ships left the Pacific Coast in ballast and returned from China with full cargoes. It was China that was now prosperous. She was sending out great quantities of goods and getting nothing in return! I will not dwell further on the subject. A theory that requires you to believe that a country is fortunate when it parts with its goods and gets nothing in return, and unfortunate when it receives goods and gives nothing in return, is self-condemned. With regard to the hardship inflicted on the owners of uncoined silver when the mints were closed to the free coinage of silver, I do not deny the existence of this hardship. That was one of the considerations that made me, for a long time, very unwilling to agree to any change in the standard; but Sir William Meyer has pointed out that the hardship has been exaggerated. As to Mr. Moreton Frewen's illustration of the hardship experienced when the man with 2,000 tolas of silver could only get 600 rupees for it, I would observe that, as has been pointed out, the rupees he actually did get were of much higher purchasing power—that is to say, each rupee was worth 1s. 4d., and if the mints had not been closed each rupee would not have been worth so much, but worth only 9d. Moreover, the people of India do not hoard all their wealth in the form of uncoined silver. A great deal was hoarded in the form of rupees, and by the closing of the mints the value of the poor

man's board of rupees was increased in the proportion of 9d. to 1s. 4d., or as nine to sixteen, and there was no corresponding disadvantage. I have never seen any trustworthy evidence that the difficulties of the people of India in time of famine were substantially or appreciably increased by the closing of the mints.

SIR JAMES WILSON, in his reply, said: If time allowed, I should have liked to answer at length some of the remarks that have been made on my paper; but in the circumstances I shall not detain you long, more especially as the more important criticisms have been dealt with by the Chairman and other speakers. As to the serious charge brought against the Government of India's currency policy, that it injured the poorer classes by reducing the value of their silver hoards, it is true that they now get for their uncoined silver fewer rupees than they used to do, because the closing of the mints has led to a rise in the value of the rupee, whether measured in silver or in other commodities; but, had the mints not been closed, the exchangeable value of the rupee would have gone down along with that of silver, and it would now have been worth only the value of 180 grains of silver, which are at present equal in value to only 9d. in gold. So that, if the mints had remained open, the holders of uncoined silver would no doubt have received more rupees for their hoards, but these rupees would not have purchased more wheat or millet and other goods than they can get for their uncoined silver now.

Similarly, as regards the complaint that the poorer villager can no longer, in famine times, take their silver ornaments to the mints to be coined into rupees, it must be remembered that, even when the mints were open, the villagers themselves did not bring their ornaments to the mints. They sold them in the villages to the money-lenders, who sent them on to the Presidency towns. They can still sell them for their value as silver, and with the proceeds buy as much food as they could have bought with their weight in silver had the mints remained open. The closing of the mints has raised the value in exchange of the rupee coin, but it was not, to any great extent, among the causes which have led to the depreciation of silver, as measured in general commodities. There seems reason to hope that China will now enjoy better government and become more prosperous as time goes on. If her peoples, like those of India, develop a liking for hoarding the precious metals, we may expect that China, like India, will absorb increasing quantities of gold, and thus help to save the world from too sudden a rise in gold prices, due to the rapid increase in the world's supply of gold which is now taking place. I have to thank you all for the great patience with which you have listened to a long lecture on a dry subject.

MR. LESLIE MOORE, in proposing a vote of thanks, said that he became, after hearing the paper read, entirely converted to the view of the lecturer until he heard Mr. Moreton Frewen, and then he was so overcome with the horrible idea of a Chinese commercial and industrial invasion that he reverted to the speaker's views. No doubt after a second reading of the paper, he would again revert to Sir James Wilson's side of the question. But who shall decide when doctors disagree? However, on one point

they could all agree, and that was on heartily thanking Sir James for a very able and interesting paper.

Seconded by MR. CHISHOLM.

MR. CHISHOLM begged to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman for kindly taking the chair. He brought to bear on that question a knowledge which none of them could have, and they would have, therefore, the greatest respect for his judgment on that question.

SIR LESLEY PROBYN said that he had intended proposing the vote of thanks to Sir David Barbour, but it was done before he had the opportunity. He had, however, great pleasure in seconding it. He thought they owed a great debt to him for the work he had done in the past.

The vote of thanks was also supported by several other speakers, to which the CHAIRMAN suitably replied.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Wednesday, July 12, 1911, a paper was read by Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy (Hon. Secretary, London All-Indian Moslem League), on "The Moslem University." The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., the Hon. Mr. Justice C. Sankaran Nair, C.I.E., the Hon. Syed Husein Bilgrami, C.S.I., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Henry Leitner, Mr. K. G. Yasin, Mr. Hasrat, of British East Africa, Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Mr. M. A. Rahim, Mr. E. Kohler, Mr. H. N. Maitra, Mr. P. N. Chowdhuri, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Miss E. J. Beck, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. Nihal Singh, Mr. Abdul Ghani Khan, Mr. Khaja Ishmail, Mr. M. Abdul Haq, Mr. M. A. Khan, Mr. S. A. Razzoq, Major O'Brien and Mrs. O'Brien, Mr. R. C. Bolster, Mr. B. M. Sen, Mr. K. S. Pantulu, Mr. L. H. Ahmady, Mr. S. M. Rauf Ali, Mr. A. J. P. Carmichael, Mr. M. Waliulhuq, Mr. Halil Halid Bey, Mr. Sydney D. Smith, Mr. K. Vyasa Rao, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. F. Marchant, Miss Massey, Miss Louise Game, Miss Alice Game, Miss Louise Lemanus, Miss S. Symonds, Miss N. Murphy, Mr. Sitaram, Mr. Hugo Schawab, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that Mr. Kaderbhoy was a representative of the Moslem community in Bombay, where he had been connected with the textile industry. He would now leave England and go back to India, having been called to the Bar. He would also like to add that His Highness Sir Aga Khan would have been present had he been in England, but ill-health had compelled him to go to the South of France; he had asked that his regret should be expressed, and a state-

ment made to the effect that he was in entire agreement with the paper, which he now called upon the lecturer to read.

The paper was then read.

LORD REAY (the Chairman): Ladies and gentlemen, we have had a singularly interesting paper to-day on a most important subject—a subject not only important to the Mahommedan community in India, but to the whole of India. No one can approach this subject without paying a tribute of respect to the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who was the first man to show to his co-religionists what position they should occupy in the field of higher education. We must not forget that the Mahommedan community in Bombay and in Karachi has started secondary higher schools. The Aligarh College was built on sure foundations, and what is now proposed is simply to give further extensions to the Aligarh College. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it is plain the progress has been gradual but sure, and we must all feel gratified, and admire the enthusiasm with which this project has been received by the community throughout India, and the fact that £200,000 has already been given to bring the scheme to fruition. (Applause.)

Now, I may remind you that the Government remain, and must remain, strictly neutral with regard to its own institutions in respect to the direct teaching of any religion in those institutions; but there are two ways in which neutrality can be exercised by the Government: the one is by a complete abstention of all grants-in-aid, and the other is to recognize all that is done by private communities for themselves; and there, to my mind, the Government is not only justified, but my own strong feeling is that it is the duty of the Government to give every encouragement to those efforts (hear, hear), and I have on my side an expert on Indian education, whom I consider to be one of the greatest living authorities on the subject, Dr. Miller. The Bombay Government has always acted on that principle, because it gives a grant to the Fergusson College at Poona, which is distinctly a college for Hindoos; therefore, whether it be Hindoos, Mahommedans, or Parsees, or any other community who wish to start an institution of that kind, with the avowed purpose (and I say that the purpose is avowed by Sir Aga Khan and by the lecturer) of strengthening the religious faith of the students who will go there, and of giving them a religious basis for their conduct, I say that we, as Christians, who hold strongly that the formation of character and the whole development of Western civilization rests on a Christian basis and Christian education, cannot deny to others the right to assert for their own community and in their own schools their own religious ideas. That is a principle, as I consider it, of tolerance all round.

Now, I was very glad to see that the lecturer laid great stress on technical education. I need hardly say that, as I believe I was the first promoter, (although some existing institutions had a technical side,) of a really technical institute in India, I cordially greet the allusion in this paper to the development of technical education by the University which it is proposed to establish. The scheme, evidently, is of a very ambitious nature, and on the basis of the modern Universities in England, and I

believe the design is a good one. I know that it is often said that if you advocate technical education, you show very little respect for Persian and Arabic literature. Nothing is further removed from my mind than to discourage those studies. You will, of course, as is stated, lay great stress on the teaching of Persian and Arabic literature. With that I entirely agree, and I should be very sorry if that condition was omitted, as it is certainly a feature which lends distinction to the Mahommedans in India. (Applause.)

Now I need also hardly assure you that I entirely agree with the opinion of Sir Theodore Morison, and with the opinion expressed in the paper, that we have undoubtedly, in India, been on the wrong tack in making our Universities purely examining bodies—(hear, hear)—and I think it would have been infinitely better to have given the degree-granting power to Colleges of a certain standing, and not to have put every student, as it were, into the melting-pot of an external examination. I have vindicated that principle in a contest which has been going on for years in the London University, and which has culminated in the transformation of the London University into a teaching University, admission to external examinations being retained. That example might, I think, be followed in India. The great want of India is institutions where the students are resident, and where the teaching is given by responsible people, and, let me add, should be given by the very best men that can be found, either in the United Kingdom or in India. I have always been of opinion that it is an injury to India if we do not, in the Colleges which are under the direct influence of the Government, or which are managed by Europeans, take care to appoint the very best men on the College staff. (Hear, hear.) If the selection is a difficult one at our own Universities, then it is obvious that the task is doubly difficult where Englishmen have to educate students who have different traditions, and who live in a different atmosphere; and I maintain that you require men with very special qualifications, in order that they may exercise a good influence on the young men with whom they are dealing, and appreciate the Eastern civilisation with which they are brought into contact. I endorse the object of the University to make it a residential and a real teaching University at the same time. I trust that the example given by the Mahommedan community will lead to a wider application of the principle. (Hear, hear.)

Now I wish to express my great pleasure in seeing that this University will not only be accessible to the Mahommedans, but that others will be welcome there too. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Knowing what I do of the tolerant spirit of the Indian Mahommedan community I have not the slightest doubt that students belonging to other sections of the community will be well received there, and that their opinions, whatever they may be, will be thoroughly respected; and in that way great advantage will accrue, in spreading the benefits of the University to other sections of the community. I have no doubt that the Government will look upon this attempt with favour, and that Government patronage will be forthcoming, and my only regret is that I myself shall be unable to be present when the foundation-stone is laid, but of this I wish to give Mr. Kaderbhoj the

assurance that I shall follow the development and the history of this institution with the utmost sympathy and interest. (Loud applause.) I must leave you now to go to the House of Lords; I am sorry I cannot stay. In my absence Sir Arundel Arundel will take the chair.

The following letter was read by the Hon. Secretary from Dr. Abdul Majid :

July 11, 1911.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

I very much regret that I shall not be able to be present at the meeting of the East India Association on the Moslem University, as I have to give a lecture at the same hour. I am glad that the East India Association is taking so much interest in Indian affairs. A Moslem University in India is greatly needed. I should say, not *one*, but four or five, as the country is so vast, and the educational needs of the Moslems of India will only be partially met by one University. Still, *one* University, if conducted on proper lines, will be of the greatest benefit to the Moslems. An enlightened Moslem India will not only be a source of great strength to the British Government, which is based upon the people's will, but also of great advantage to all the other communities of India. I am sure this object deserves the support of everyone, and I hope that our aim to establish a University, difficult as it is, will soon be an accomplished fact. With thanks to you and the Association for so kindly supporting the Moslems, and thereby India.

(Signed) A. MAJID.

THE HON. SYED BILGRAMI thought that the bright side of the scheme had been amply dealt with by the lecturer, and he was going to deal with the other side—to assume the rôle of devil's advocate, as it were. It was not an easy thing to establish such a University; it would require a large sum of money, and several conditions must be fulfilled before it could be founded. The Government would ask in what way it would differ from the Universities already provided. As the point had been raised, he would like to point out the reason why the present Universities became merely examining bodies. It was because of the difficulty—owing to the caste system—of bringing together the members of the different communities to live together in one place. Of course, there were other difficulties, but the time had now come for introducing a change in that attitude, and for adopting the residential system, as established at Aligarh, where they now had residential quarters. They wanted a system of education for their children which would influence their characters, the formation of character being of greater importance than mere knowledge. The Government could not meddle with religious education, so that it was necessary to take matters into their own hands. All that they (the Mussulmans) desired was to be allowed to expand every branch of what already existed, and to give it a wider and higher scope.

The long list of subjects quoted by the lecturer was, in his opinion, too Utopian to be realized for a very long time to come. As the Chairman had said, they must have the very best teachers, so as to give the University a world-wide reputation for efficiency. They wanted competent professors—he did not say necessarily from Oxford and Cambridge only, although he supported that idea—but highly accomplished

men from European Universities, men of the highest ability. What made the Dutch and Italian Universities so famous at one time all over the world? Why was it looked upon as a distinction and an honour to belong to them? It was because men of the very highest reputation in Europe were invariably chosen to fill their chairs. If we want to succeed in our aim we must follow their example, and employ none but men of the highest qualifications. He thought that to start with four or five subjects would be sufficient; fresh faculties could be added from time to time as the need arose, and funds permitted. It was impossible to start with all that had been mentioned. To get men, in each subject, whose names would carry weight all over the world, would require a large sum of money. In conclusion he said he pointed out these difficulties, not with the object of discouraging the pioneers of the project, as he was himself one of its earliest, albeit of its humblest, supporters, but to suggest caution and discrimination in working out the scheme, and an adequate provision of funds before approaching the Government and begging for the grant of a Charter.

MR. FORREST: As a friend of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and a resident at Aligarh for two or three years, I saw the beginning of the great work there. Wind and tide favour now, but Syed Ahmad launched his barque on heavy seas and against adverse gales. But he was a master pilot. As for names, his name for the institution he founded was Anglo-Mahommedan University, each word significant. He meant it to be a University, and called it so at once. He believed the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was what would be called in England a free-thinker. (Dr. POLLEN: "He was a latitudinarian, very broad-minded.") Mr. Forrest continued, with regard to the paper, as an Engineer it would be difficult for him to say anything against scientific training, but he thought the scope of the education—such subjects as midwifery had been mentioned—was far too wide. He was reminded that in the attempt to combine scientific education with literature in the elementary schools in America the hopes of the promoters had not been fulfilled. Let them go slow and sure. He agreed with Mr. Belgrami in his remarks. He hoped they would not found the scheme on the same lines as the Manchester and Sheffield Universities, but rather on the older schemes of Oxford and Cambridge, which had done such enormous good. On the introduction of the educational system of 1854, when the examination scheme was introduced, they looked for a new era in India, but they were disappointed. He thought that the system destroyed that feeling of good fellowship which should exist between teachers and pupils, and the result had not been good. Let them always have first-class men as their teachers and professors, men such as Sir Theodore Morison and Mr. Beck, men of high aims, of enthusiasm and energy, as well as of proved intellectual ability.

MR. RAUF ALI asked to be allowed to make a few general observations. He was sure they had all greatly benefited by the admirable exposition of the scheme. The idea of opening its doors to all classes was a point that should be more emphasized. If the doors of the University were to be opened to all classes, then, surely, the central idea was an all-Indian

movement, and he failed to understand why it should be denominationalized by the name Moslem. Their people had founded many Universities in the past, but he ventured to think they had never been so narrow-minded as to designate them with a sectarian title. All the great European institutions of learning were known by the names of the places where they were situated; one very seldom, if ever, heard of a Christian or Zoroastrian University; so why should they have a Mahomedan University? He thought it extremely undesirable to designate it by the word Mahomedan, because the great trouble in India was that of names, which led to much ill-feeling, when there was really no necessity for it. He advised them not to attach any sectarian designation to the suggested institution, and he did not think there could be any better object to commemorate His Majesty's visit to India than the founding of an institution free from all sectarian narrow-mindedness and religious bigotry. (Applause.)

MR. VYASA RAO did not believe that the antagonism between Mahomedans and Hindus was so great as the previous speaker had stated. India had always been a land of learning, and the suggested movement had his heartiest approval, and the whole-hearted sympathy and support of every class of the community. Undoubtedly the most important question that arose was that of cost. To have an institution worthy of the name, and able to discharge the functions of a University satisfactorily, would be an expensive matter, especially as a purely private undertaking. If they wanted to enjoy the privileges and prestige of a State University, with degrees and diplomas of the same status, they would have to prove they had behind them the same wealth of intellect, money and enthusiasm as would carry the same weight as the older Universities. The present system has not been such a failure in moulding character as had been supposed so often. It appeared to him that well-equipped, first-grade denominational colleges would do more good than an indifferent, third-rate denominational University.

THAKUR SHRI JESSRAJSINGHI SEESODIA said that, regarding the suggested new University, he feared that it would only intensify the bitter feeling between the different classes of India. Neither could he approve of the Hindu scheme which had been agitated for in India. The suggestion that the Hindus and the Mahomedans should unite themselves together in facilitating, and extending, and moulding those Universities now in existence was an excellent one. It was far better to do that than to bring new Universities into existence, as it would prevent the creation of ill-feeling between them.

MR. KADERBHOV, in his reply, said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, may I be permitted to express my heartfelt gratitude to Lord Reay for his kindness in coming here and presiding on this occasion, in spite of his numerous engagements? I am pleased to see his lordship has shown his complete agreement, *in toto*, with my paper, and I am very grateful for the views he has expressed. As to the views expressed by my friends who criticized my paper, I think they are taking a very gloomy view of this question, and I think they have overrated the difficulties. The enthusiasm

and the unanimous spirit displayed by the Mahommedans in India has been so great that even the great financial difficulty will be overcome; in fact, when His Highness Sir Aga Khan asked for 20 lacs of rupees, he was able to collect the sum of 30 lacs of rupees in the short space of six weeks, and I feel confident that we shall be able to collect one crore of rupees in time. As regards the other observations, I think that our scheme is constituted on the lines of such institutions as Oxford and Cambridge, and the Mahommedan Universities, such as Cordova and Cairo, so that there is a sort of mixture of the old school and the new school, and a University so constituted was likely to work admirably.

Now, coming to Mr. Forrest, he seemed to have been upset by the fact that I have included medicine, including in that subject midwifery. Perhaps he does not understand that large numbers of poor Indian women died of their maternity troubles, and under such circumstances we want the very best possible instruction, in order that relief may be given, which India was sorely in need of.

As to the criticism raised by Mr. Rauf Ali, he seems to have taken the view that we are expressing our ideas in too narrow a way. The word Moslem was not a denominational word; the meaning of the word was simply *Universality*. That was a big point. The Moslem University would therefore throw open its doors to everyone—Egyptians, Turks and Persians: whereas if they established a University exclusively called an Indian University it would shut out others who would have liked to participate in its benefits.

MR. RAUF ALI: I merely suggested that it should be called by a local name.

MR. KADERBHOY: Personally I prefer the name we have already suggested, which has been approved by the majority of Indian and Mahommedan leaders. The criticisms of Mr. Rauf Ali were very impassioned, but if he will go through my paper during his leisure I am positive he will come to a different conclusion. Sometimes people go with the spirit of the audience, and perhaps that has been the case with him.

As to the question of cost, my reply is that the cost would be easily overcome by the Mahommedans who are seeking to have a first-rate education, and I do not anticipate any trouble over that question.

With reference to the last speaker, I think he has dealt with general observations rather than with the observations contained in my paper. I am in entire sympathy with him as far as I understand him. I do not think there is any real ill-feeling between the Hindoos and the Mahommedans, at any rate it is a long time ago since there was, and I fail to see how a University like the one suggested would create the spirit he anticipates. On the contrary, it would to a great extent result in unifying the people. On the whole, I feel thankful to my critics for their sympathetic criticisms, and more especially to Lord Reay for his kind observations. (Applause.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that it was a very valuable paper, and one that had led to a very

interesting discussion. He thought it was much better to have a subject which brought about an interesting and healthy discussion, than to have one upon which nothing could be said on the other side. Everyone who thought over the matter must realize that the success of the scheme depended not merely on the question of money, but on many important details of administration. He was therefore glad that Mr. Belgrami and others had been present to give them the benefit of their views, both pro and con. Before success could be achieved, there was an enormous amount of work to be undertaken. There was one observation that struck him, that if there was to be a Moslem University, carried out and subscribed for mainly by the Moslem community, in which instruction in the Koran was to be a distinct feature, it would be very difficult to formulate a system of instruction in the Hindoo religion, supposing Hindoos were to be allowed to enter the University. How was it that in the eighth or ninth century those wonderful Universities, established by the Moslems in Spain, which were the centres of civilization in Europe, fell to the ground? It was simply because they were suffering from internal dissensions, and they had nothing to fall back upon; the Moslem community broke up into a number of small chieftainships opposed to one another. That was the reason why the Moslem strength, and then the Moslem teaching of the Universities, fell to pieces.

DR. POLLEN, in seconding the vote of thanks, said he was in a somewhat diagonal position, because he sympathized with the objects expressed in the paper, and he was also in agreement with the critics—(laughter)—and their opinions. He appreciated Mr. Rauf Ali's comments, and he recognized the importance of the warning voice raised by Mr. Belgrami. He was certain the Moslem community would be able to find the money required. He agreed that the word Moslem was an inclusive term, and took in everybody. Our motto in ruling in India was, and had always been, not "Divide and rule," but "Unito et imperabis." No sane administrator ever thought of setting one class against the other. "Unite, and control"—this was the wise statesman's motto.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE, in proposing thanks to the chair, said the meeting had the privilege of having first such an eminent educationist as Lord Reay to preside over it. His vast knowledge of the educational conditions of India gave special value to the views which his lordship had expressed in such a sympathetic spirit. (Cheers.) The subject of the lecture and the debate which had followed were matters of high importance to all interested in the cause of Mahommedan education. The project launched with such enthusiasm by their Moslem friends had, the speaker was delighted to think, recovered at almost one stroke the stigma which rightly or wrongly rested on that community of being indifferent to, or backward in, the cause of education. It was a guarantee of its eventual fulfilment that so influential a leader of the Mahommedan world as H. H. the Aga Khan had by his influence and substantial contribution patronized the scheme. (Cheers.) And it was a further guarantee of its success that such able exponents of Mahommedan views as the Nawab Bilgrami were, as they had just heard, alive to the diffi-

culties that lay in the path of the scheme, so that they might be overcome in time. It was possible that objections might arise in the fuller accomplishment of the ideals which the promoters of the scheme had in view, but he (the speaker) confidently hoped that the ingenuity of Indian statesmanship would find a solution for them. He begged to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Reay and to Sir Arundel Arundel, who had occupied the chair after his lordship left.

The vote was carried by applause.

The following letter has been received by the Hon. Secretary :

LONDON,
July 12, 1911.

DEAR SIR,

I wished to speak just a few words on the subject in debate this afternoon, but being a very poor speaker, and partly for want of time, I had not the opportunity of expressing my views on the subject, which I want to put in a few words, and which I hope you will kindly insert in your Journal, if you can afford a short space for it.

I fully agree with the lecturer, Mr. Kaderbhoy, about the foundation of an "All-Indian University" in India, the *be all and end all* of which will be to impart full practical and theoretical training in all the technical branches of industry and art, as well as to facilitate and cultivate the minds of the students to a high spiritual and moral life by giving them a thorough training in the religions to which they respectively belong. The introduction of technical studies in such a University ought to be fully encouraged, in order to better enable the student to choose their course of studies in the prime of their youth, and to make them thorough practical men in the field afterwards. The system of education in all the Universities of India at the present day is not to make the students qualified in any branches of technical studies, but only to give them so-called diplomas of F.A., B.A., M.A., etc., which diplomas are of very little value to those who wish to study medicine or engineering, or any other technical subjects. The students in this country have a thousand and one chances of being admitted into big electrical or other engineering firms for a term of four or five years for learning engineering, and so also the medical students may join any large hospital, and they get every possible advantage in mastering the subjects in which they study, as they are admitted into the firms and hospitals just after they finish their education in preliminary schools. But in India, owing to the restrictions imposed upon the students, that unless they pass the First Arts Examination of their respective Universities they are not allowed to join the Medical or the Engineering Colleges, the careers of most of the students just get nipped in the bud. I know many students in my part of the country who were very strong in mathematics, and who would have made very good engineers if they were allowed to enter in the Engineering College, but who failed to pass either in Sanskrit or in English, which failure stopped their further education. The foundation of such a University would no doubt help to obviate most of these difficulties.

(Signed) P. N. CHOWDHURI.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE forty-fourth Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at the office of the Association, 3 Victoria Street, London, S.W., on Monday, June 26, 1911, the Right Hon. the Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., President, in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., Sir Lesley C. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. P. C. Lyon, C.S.I., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. K. Vyasa Rao, Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.R., Kumar Shri Chandradevi of Dharampur, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Syed Abdul Majid, Mr. K. C. Bannerjee, Mr. F. H. Brown, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D.

The HON. SECRETARY read letters of regret from several members who were unable to be present, a letter from the Home Secretary acknowledging receipt of the addresses of condolence to His Majesty the King and to Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, and also the forty-fourth Annual Report of the Association.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we are all, I am sure, still under the impression of the great events of last week. It is extremely difficult to say what in all those ceremonies was the most impressive ceremony, but with regard to us Indians no doubt we were extremely gratified to see representatives of India taking part in the procession, admired universally for their excellent horsemanship, and received everywhere by the crowd with great approval and applause. (Hear, hear.) We may hope that the reign which has begun so auspiciously may be as long and as blessed a reign as that of the King's illustrious grandmother, in whose steps it is quite obvious he is resolved to walk. (Hear, hear.) All his acts show a great sense of duty, a determination to do that duty throughout all parts of his wide-spread dominions, and not the least to India, and we must all hope that his Coronation at Delhi will be in every respect worthy of the great Empire of India over which he is called to rule; and we feel convinced that he will be greeted by all sections of the Indian community with that loyalty which has in past times always distinguished them, and which we must all hope will be the distinctive feature of India in the future. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, there is very little in this Report which calls for remark. You will all agree with me that our best thanks are due to our indefatigable Hon. Secretary, Dr. Pollen, who watches over our destinies with such great assiduity and tact. The result is, as you will see, very satisfactory. We have eighty-seven new members, which is seventy-four in excess of resignations and deaths. I should like to say on that subject that we ought always to make strenuous efforts to increase the number of members. I think if every member of this Association were to undertake at all events to find one recruit, that would sensibly affect our fortunes.

Gentlemen, it is a sad feature of these Reports when we have to mention those whom we have lost. We much regret the death of the Nawab of Junagadh. You are all aware how much progress was made in his State under the able Diwanship of the Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, now a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. With regard to Mr. D. P. Cama, he was one of the oldest Bombayites resident in England, and his name was cherished by the Parsee community, and he has always been highly respected by his community and by all those who knew him.

You will see from the Report that we have had a great number of interesting papers. The only one to which I should like to make an allusion is the one with regard to the Indian Museum. The present condition of things with regard to the Indian Museum is by no means creditable. In October last year I was in Berlin on the occasion of the centenary of the great University of Berlin, and I then saw a wonderful museum, in which were collected the various exhibits which had been brought there by Mr. Von le Coq. They were admirably arranged, properly distributed, and an explanation was given, so that it was quite a pleasure to spend a few hours in that museum seeing this extraordinarily interesting collection. Taking the other side of the picture, we have had a most remarkable collection brought here by Dr. Stein. I must say that nothing was more disappointing than the fact that the greatest difficulty was experienced in giving to that collection a proper home. I believe it is now in the British Museum, but I must say it is perfectly humiliating if any German or Frenchman comes here and asks to see that collection that we have to take him to such an inadequate abode. As you know, we had a meeting at the Board of Education at which Mr. Runciman was present, and at which Lord Curzon made a strong appeal to the Government on the question. I do not know what has been done since. Mr. Runciman gave a satisfactory reply. Official replies are generally satisfactory, but the results which follow are not always proportionate to the assurances which are given at the meeting; but I still trust that Mr. Runciman will do what he can to remove this blot on our escutcheon. I may mention in this connection another matter—the subject of an Oriental school. On that we have had one Commission, of which I had the honour to be President, and now there is one of which Lord Cromer is president, and we are still in expectation that we may have a first-rate Oriental school in the Metropolis of the Empire. This Association, and all those who are interested in India, wish to see the present discreditable state of things

altered. When you go to Berlin or Paris you find a fully equipped Oriental school, and you find the greatest activity prevailing. I hope before long we shall be prominent in that field of investigation.

Gentlemen, there is a suggestion by Mr. Leslie Moore, which is an admirable suggestion and with which I entirely agree, that lectures should be given in the Caxton Hall on Thursday evenings, when the working classes have a half holiday and can attend, and that there should be a repetition of such lectures in some of the City lecture-rooms and halls in other districts at convenient hours. We are all aware of the extraordinary ignorance which prevails with regard to India, and of the absolute necessity of enlightening people, and giving them information with regard to India.

Then another part of our dominions which I should like to mention is the colonies. In some of our colonies there are lamentable prejudices with regard to Indians. I need hardly say how much we all regret the attitude taken up by the Transvaal, which I attribute to a misconception of the ancient Indian civilization. The colonies have a recent history and a limited development as compared with the antiquity of Eastern civilization. It is imperative that our friends in the colonies should be enlightened as to what is the real condition of affairs in India in order that their relations with India may be placed on a different footing, so that we should really consider ourselves all subjects of the same Empire—a united Empire, with a combined and strenuous effort to promote the prosperity of that Empire, as loyal fellow-subjects of the same King. (Loud applause.)

Gentlemen, we have reason to be satisfied with the financial position of the Society, which is due to the admirable management of our Hon. Secretary, Dr. Pollen, so that we end the year with the balance of £215.

I conclude by expressing the hope that we may have very interesting meetings during the session which will begin in the autumn, and that the Association will maintain its reputation and will increase its influence, as I have said, in promoting a better knowledge of India, and in promoting the feeling of friendship which ought to exist between all parts of the dominions of His Majesty; and I hope that one of the features of the reign will be that we may more and more feel—India, the dominions, and ourselves—that we are only parts of a great whole, and that we have all one object in view, and that is the prosperity of all His Majesty's subjects. (Loud applause.)

COLONEL YATE, in seconding the adoption of the report, said he wished to endorse everything that had been said by the Chairman. With regard to the establishment of an Indian Museum he agreed it was a most important matter. He had been present at the deputation to Mr. Runciman on the subject, but apparently nothing had been done since. If Lord Reay would raise the question in the House of Lords he would be only too pleased to put questions on the subject in the House of Commons. He thought the Association ought to take the question up and bring it forward in every way it could.

Turning to the report, he was glad to see that they had reduced the sub-

scriptions to students to 7s. 6d. He had always been in favour of a reduced subscription for students, and he hoped as a result of it there would be a large increase in the number of students joining the Association. They had followed the example of the other Indian Associations in this respect.

The next matter he wished to deal with was the statement in the report that the Association had not issued any leaflets of late. The leaflets which they had issued in the past, giving correct information with regard to India, were the distinctive feature of the Association. It was the point, in fact, on which they had separated from the other two Associations. He thought they ought to provide all the information they could with regard to India, and he hoped their excellent editor would set to work again and continue to send out leaflets giving the real facts of the case on all questions that came up in which India was concerned.

He agreed with the Chairman that it was very desirable that the colonies and India should have a better understanding, and that the colonies should have a more thorough knowledge of India than they had at present. He hoped when the Imperial Conference came on next time India would be represented by members from India itself.

MR. LYON said that he was sorry the issuing of leaflets had been dropped, because he thought their circulation was most useful, not only in England but in India itself. They were particularly useful to young officers in the service, who were frequently confronted with difficult questions.

MR. SEWELL suggested that the names of the members of the Council should appear somewhere on the Annual Report, and also the names of the vice-presidents.

MR. K. VYASA RAO said that the East India Association had always struck him as being one of the weightiest bodies dealing with Indian affairs in England. Such an Association with a distinguished roll of Indian pro-consuls and administrators might be expected to be a power for good in promoting better relations between England and India. He suggested that they should form a Parliamentary Committee composed of Members of both Houses of Parliament, not to heckle Ministers, but to supply correct information which will lead to the removal of existing grievances.

With regard to the coming visit of their Majesties the King and Queen to India, they all knew that they were proceeding to India to show the solicitude which they entertained for the millions in that vast country. In the minds of Indians there was no limit to the good which Royalty could do, and as their Majesties have decided to go to India, he thought the Ministers of the Crown ought to rise to the level of the occasion and inaugurate a new era of attachment between India and England. So far as the masses of the people were concerned, the most oppressive thing at present was the salt *monopoly*, and he suggested that that might be done away with. He also suggested that a million acres of grazing ground might be set free to the people in commemoration of their Majesties' visit. That would be a great boon.

With regard to the educated classes, their grievance had always been that there was no opportunity given to them to start in the Services on the same terms as Englishmen, and he suggested that the competitive examination for recruiting the Civil Service of India should be held in England and India, two-thirds of the vacancies being reserved for the examination in England, and the remaining third for the examination held in India. Turning to Native States, their subjects, who were as much British subjects under international law as anybody else, were not permitted to compete for the Medical Services or Indian Civil Services, and that was felt to be an untenable restriction upon them. Again, if an Indian Prince were tried for any offence he was not necessarily and always tried by his Peers, as he was entitled to be. He thought there ought to be an Imperial Council of Chiefs attached to the Viceroy, which should have the right to advise the Viceroy in regard to matters affecting them as a body.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I do not think you will expect me to enter in detail into the matters which have been referred to by the last speaker, but I should like to say a word on the subject of the grazing grounds. I am very familiar with that subject, because whilst I was in Bombay I had rather a tussle with my friend Mr. Shuttleworth, who would, I believe, have turned the greater part of the Presidency into forest. I may say that I was instructed by Lord Kimberley, when I was sent out to Bombay, to look into that very matter. This will show that the subject was not overlooked, and that it was fully recognized as one of very great importance by the Government as far back as 1885.

The subject of simultaneous examinations is a very important and delicate subject, which requires to be very carefully considered.

With regard to the chiefs, the difficulty has always been, I believe, that the chiefs themselves do not desire to form a council. I believe when it was suggested that a council of chiefs should be formed, after careful consideration, and after consulting the wishes of the chiefs themselves, the matter was set aside. At any rate, it has not been overlooked.

With regard to the suggestion of forming a Parliamentary Committee, this Association has always avoided entering into the political arena. Our object has always been to give information to the public rather than to deal with subjects which pertain to the field of political controversy. I am always very pleased when suggestions are made at our meetings, and I hope that Mr. Vyasa Rao, when he goes back to India, will have a prosperous and happy career. (Applause.)

The report having been moved and seconded, I will now put it to the meeting.

(The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.)

On the motion of SIR LESLEY PROBYN, seconded by KUMAR SHRI CHANDRADEVJI of Dharampur, the Right Hon. Lord Reay was re-elected President of the Association.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, carried unanimously, W. Coldstream,

Esq., Sir John David Rees, and K. G. Gupta, Esq., were unanimously re-elected members of the Council.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN Sir James Wilson was unanimously elected a member of the committee in the place of Colonel D. G. Pitcher, resigned.

On the motion of SIR ROBERT FULTON a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, 1910-11.

THE Council of this Association submit Report and Accounts for the year 1910-11, ending April 30.

At the Annual General Meeting, held on June 29, 1910, the Right Hon. the Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected President of the Association, and during the year under report His Highness the Maharajah Scindhia of Gwalior, a generous benefactor of the Association in the past, was elected a Life Member. Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, I.C.S. (retired), was co-opted a Member of Council.

In all, eighty-seven new Members were elected during the year. This is seventy-four in excess of resignations and death—a most satisfactory sign. But the Council regret to have to announce the death of two Vice-Presidents—His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh, G.C.S.I., and the Thakur Sahab of Wadhwan; and of Mr. D. P. Cama.

The Addresses of Condolence to His Majesty the King and to Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, approved at the last General Meeting, were duly submitted, and graciously acknowledged through His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

The Council has since heard, with deep gratification, of His Majesty's intention to visit India, and venture to record their confidence that the Royal visit will evoke manifestations of the inborn loyalty of the peoples of India, and will

result in permanent good to the inhabitants of India generally, in whose interests this Association works.

Council have resolved to admit Students on a reduced subscription, and have also decided to renew the tenancy of the present quarters, 3, Victoria Street, for a further term of years, and the rooms have recently been rendered more attractive by being repapered and painted and decorated, and by the provision of electric light.

The following papers were read during the year :

May 2, 1910.—T. H. S. Biddulph, Esq., "The Unearthing of Hoarded Wealth in India, and, in Connection therewith, the Financing of Feeder Railways and Canals." Sir Lesley Charles Probyn, K.C.V.O., in the chair.

June 13, 1910.—C. E. D. Black, Esq., "An India Museum as a Memorial of His Late Majesty King Edward VII." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

June 29, 1910.—Dr. T. L. Pennell, M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.S., "The Tribes on our North-West Frontier." The Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

July 25, 1910.—John Walsh, Esq., "The Empire's Obligation to the Lascar." Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Robert Fremantle, G.C.B., C.M.G., F.R.G.S., J.P., in the chair.

November 8, 1910.—Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, "The Moslem Constitutional Theory and Reforms in Turkey, Persia, and India." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

December 5, 1910.—R. A. Leslie Moore, Esq., "India and Tariff Reform." Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

January 30, 1911.—Miss Hilda M. Howsin, "Race and Colour Prejudice." The Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

March 6, 1911.—The Rev. J. Knowles, "The Battle of the Characters; or, an Imperial Script for India." Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

April 10, 1911.—K. Vyasa Rao, Esq., "A Statutory Royal Viceroy for India." The Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., in the chair.

On the suggestion of Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, the desirability of having papers read at times and places more convenient to the working classes was considered by Council, and it was decided that, whenever the subject of any Lecture was of a nature likely to interest such classes, arrangements should be made (1) for the delivery of such Lectures in the Caxton Hall on Thursday evenings, when the working classes had a half-holiday and could attend, and (2) for the repetition of such Lectures in some of the City Lecture Rooms and Halls at convenient hours.

In view of the fact that the Indian authorities have themselves taken steps to correct misrepresentations through the public press and that a better understanding prevails, this Association has not issued any leaflets of late. But surplus copies of the *Journal* of the Association have been distributed to workmens' clubs and to certain selected libraries, and invitations to our public meetings have been more extensively circulated.

The financial condition of the Association the Council regard as satisfactory. After payment of all debts up to the end of the year, the balance in hand amounts to £215 6s. 11½d. This balance would have been considerably larger but for the extra expenditure involved during the early months of the year in printing and posting extra copies of our *Journal* for free distribution to clubs and libraries in India and Great Britain. This distribution has, doubtless, served to draw attention to the aims and objects of the Association, and has possibly proved beneficial in other ways; but no increase in membership can be traced to this source, and Council have decided to discontinue this free circulation for the present, and to

concentrate attention on popularizing the Lectures and providing greater opportunities for free public discussion in a loyal and temperate spirit.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Major Guy Melfort Baldwin, D.S.O.
N. N. Bose, Esq.
Sir Steyning William Edgerley, K.C.V.O., C.I.E.
Reginald Edward Enthoven, Esq., C.I.E.
Richard Fanthorpe, Esq.
Edmund Vivian Gabriel, Esq., C.V.O.
William Thomas Hall, Esq.
Thomas Hart-Davies, Esq.
Colonel E. R. J. Presgrave, C.B., D.S.O.
Colonel John Robertson, C.I.E.
William Henry Ryland, Esq.
Hormasjee Sorabjee, Esq.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, and are eligible for re-election :

W. Coldstream, Esq.
Sir John David Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O.
K. G. Gupta, Esq., C.V.O.
Colonel D. G. Pitcher.

Eighty-five gentlemen and two ladies were elected during the year.

The income for the year ending April 30, 1911 (including balance at bankers and cash in hand), amounted to £814 9s. 11½d. Expenditure £599 3s. Balance in hand and at bankers £215 6s. 11½d.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

INDIA—NORTH AND SOUTH.

THOUGH I travelled from Bombay to Quilon via Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Calcutta, Allahabad, Benares, Madras and Tinnevely, I saw very few of the show places of India; but, at any rate, I saw the greatest wonder of all in the north, the world-renowned Táj Mahal, and I also saw Messrs. Harvey's admirably-equipped spinning mill, worked by the water of one of the most beautiful and most useful rivers in India, at Pápanásam (The washing away of sin), and I have no doubt at all as to which is the most interesting sight to any really intelligent lover of India. The first is a tomb of exquisite workmanship, no doubt, but still nothing but a tomb, in which lie buried all the pomp and magnificence of a long-decayed dynasty, and which cost the labour of 18,000 men for twenty years, and has "produced" nothing but the amazement of sightseers for hundreds of years. Labour worth at least three millions sterling, even in the seventeenth century, (though the labourers may never have actually enjoyed their scanty wages), capital enough to have turned the deserts of the Empire into gardens like the Valley of the Tambraparni, the irrigated area of which little river, though no more than 100,000 acres, yet pays a rental to the State of Rs. 1,100,000, thanks to the more enlightened policy of the old rulers in the South and their almost perfect system of irrigation.

Who can doubt which is really the more beautiful work in the eyes of gods and men of sense? And the crowning edifice of the neighbourhood is Messrs. Harvey's mill, which is not an ugly monstrosity such as we are accustomed to think of in connection with the word, but a beautifully-lighted one-storied building, which harmonizes quite well with the wildly beautiful scenery of the place, and at the same time gives employment to 1,300 "hands" and all the local handloom weavers, so bringing such prosperity to the whole neighbourhood, already rich agriculturally, as must be seen to be believed. For it must be remembered that much of the rice land in the neighbourhood of Ambasamudram (the railway station for Pápanásam) frequently sells for £200 an acre, and even so yields 5 or 6 per cent. to the purchaser; and that the assessment on such land was about Rs. 25 an acre before Mr. Puckle's settlement, and has now been raised (unfairly, as I think) from Rs. 20 to 22½, though, no doubt, it is exceptionally favoured by Nature as well as by the skill of those old original designers of anicuts which Sir Arthur Cotton's genius, 200 years later, spread over the whole of India. It is always interesting to me to think that he was building his first great irrigation work across the Cauvery, near Trichinopoly, the year I was born, and that less than thirty years afterwards, as Sub-Collector of the Tinnevely District, I acquired a passion for irrigation, which rests on a more solid basis than any enthusiasm I may feel for the useless and even melancholy beauty of the Táj. For what sort of emotion can be excited by such mere monuments of departed grandeur and extravagant waste of labour? The best excuse that can be made for the Táj is that it is a monument to the eternal love of one man for one woman, and, even so, it seems to me to be an extravagant expression of his feelings, and entirely unjustifiable, when we consider the state of the country at the time it was built.

When I saw the Pápanásam mill the other day, I was glad to find that I had dealt very liberally with the original

application for water to work it. Thirty years ago I was still comparatively young, and might have been excused for thinking that it was my business to screw as much as possible out of the enterprising capitalist or ryot; but I had been brought up in the school of R. K. Puckle and J. D. Sim (not to mention Sir Thomas Munro), and always felt that the proper object of the Government was to take as little as possible, leaving as much as possible to fructify in the pockets of the ryot. No doubt Mr. Harvey prospered amazingly, and could easily have paid for the water some years before he did, but it was a hazardous experiment, and I don't think I was very unduly liberal in giving him the water free for ten years, when the railway was still thirty miles away. How is it that no Indian capitalist ever thought of a *Swadéshi* watermill in such an ideal situation? When I was there the other day, I found that the trustees of the great temple at Raméswaram had just entered into a contract for the supply of Ambasamudram stone,* amounting to twenty lakhs of rupees, so that there is capital in the country. It is only misapplied and sunk in unproductive labour—buried, in fact, in tombs and temples as the bullion is so often buried in the earth, or converted into useless ornaments like those at Srirangam.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

JELISU,

March 3, 1911.

N.B.—It might be worth while to consider whether Messrs. Harvey required "protection" for their infant enterprise. Why should they? By their own skill and enterprise they had secured for themselves cheap power, cheap and abundant labour in the very heart of the cotton country, so that for about twenty years they have made on the average 25 per cent. without calling in the aid of the mischief-making Captain Boycott, or even the eloquent missionary, Dr. Swadéshi, and what more can they want?

J. P.

* Perhaps the hardest and best in India.

CHINESE BRONZES.

DEAR SIR,

I also received on the 28th instant a copy of Mr. Herbert A. Giles' strange outburst upon the subject of Dr. Bushell's bowl, and no doubt he expects a reply. As to the proper place for the comma in the sentence (p. 289) cited by him :

" Like fording a vast river without bank,
Fearing *again* to tumble into some deep [hole]."

it will be observed that Father Hoang (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1909), passes over this doubtful point by using general terms. However, the distinguished Shanghai scholar (from T'ai-ts'ang township) T'ang Wei-chi pointed out to me during that summer that the comma ought to be as suggested by Mr. Giles, and I have since found two historical sentences, one ending *mi-yai* (without limits), and the other beginning *kü-fei* (fearing lest), which tend to prove this view. Notwithstanding this, the ex-viceroy Twanfang, and Dr. Forke's Chinese friend in Berlin both prefer the character *fuh*, "again," to the character, *sui*, "forthwith," and this is what I have accepted during the past two years. Moreover, Mr. T'ang makes the word *ts'eh*, "hole," begin the next sentence as a verb.

I may add that H. E. Twanfang has sent me a full modern transcription, in his own handwriting, sealed with his private seal, of the whole bowl inscription, which he annotates and comments upon throughout. He says (as the Chinese Minister at Rome said) that he himself saw the bowl exposed for sale in the Liu-li Ch'ang (=Pater-noster Row), and that he believes it to be a genuine antiquity of the Eastern Chou dynasty. He adds that some people then thought it a "fake," simply because no one had written publicly about it; "but," he adds, "the phraseology is to be found in the *Shang-shu* and *K'woh-yü* histories, "whilst the character forms accord with those of the Stone Drums; and the facts recorded, names of places, etc., are here and

there supported by the *Tso Chwan* history." He goes on to explain how he got my letter, and through what high channel he sends his reply, repeating twice over that "the object is undoubtedly a genuine antiquity," adding "I write this in evidence of it, and in order to fortify the faith of the Museum authorities in its genuineness."

Mr. Giles' personal remarks about me are beside the point and in pitifully malevolent spirit. I refer readers to my paper in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July, 1909, and I venture to think Messrs. Chavannes, Pelliot, and Vissière may not now be so certain that it is a "fake" as Mr. Giles imagines them to be. In any case, I adhere to all the good things I have said of them, and I shall always respect them, even if they differ from me in opinion. I cannot say I respect either Mr. Giles' opinions or his methods.

As to Prince I, *alias* Tsai-yüan, he is fully described in Mr. Sargent's and Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's books on the late Dowager-Empress. He, Prince Chêng (Twan-hwa), and Suh-shên were sentenced to quartering for high treason in 1861; but the two princes were allowed to strangle themselves, and Suh-shên was after all simply decapitated. I now possess all the original decrees. One specifically confiscates Suh-shên's property: no doubt Prince I's property was also confiscated, or perhaps sold by his impoverished family. His brother or cousin Tsai-tun appears as Prince I in 1874-7; on this last point Messrs. Bland and Backhouse seem to be incorrectly informed.

Yours faithfully,

E. H. PARKER.

P.S.—Any one who will photograph Twanfang's long letter may do so, so long as I am satisfied of its safety: it is 5 feet by 18 inches.

14, GAMBIER TERRACE,
LIVERPOOL,

August 31, 1911.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WM. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

1. *An Eastern Miscellany*, by the EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.—This book consists almost entirely of reprints—articles from the magazines, lectures, speeches in Parliament, and what not—on the whole well worthy of reproduction. The noble earl's wanderings in Russia, Persia, India, Japan, China, etc., remind one very strongly of the Hon. G. N. Curzon's somewhat similar peregrinations about twenty years before him, and we hope that Lord Ronaldshay will reap a corresponding reward before very long by having, like Lord Curzon, the opportunity of airing his unquestionably expert knowledge in the exalted post of Viceroy of India. The House of Lords need never despair so long as eldest sons and heirs of this active quality go seeking fame and fortune over the distant world. Meanwhile, the brilliant traveller and politician is peppering the powers that be pretty freely, and, whatever anyone else may think, it is plain who is, in the Earl of Ronaldshay's opinion, the right man to set both Germany and Sir Edward Grey right in the Bagdad sphere, Russia and Great Britain right in Persia, Lord Morley and other misguided Liberals right in India, and, in a word, the whole world right with itself and others generally, so far, at least, as the Middle and Far East are concerned. In the January number for 1910, the author's "Wandering Student in the Far East" was very favourably reviewed in these columns, and the present work

yields in no way to that in general interest, even if, here and there, a suspicion of the *ego et rex meus* note is sounded rather too often for a young man of thirty-five; still, the author's illustrious prototype, Lord Curzon, was about the same age when he began to make his seniors "hustle," and in these competitive days one must *crier haut* to get out of the wilderness.

In the writer's humble opinion, by far the most interesting and to the point chapters are those setting clearly forth the history of the Indian administration, the changes made already, and the further changes in contemplation; but it is a dreadful thing for the non-specialist reader to be without index or map of any kind. How is the general reader to follow the roving author over the head waters of the Salwin, Mekong, Yellow River, and Yang-tsze, along the 2,500 miles in a tarantass through Turkestan and Siberia, the whole length of Baluchistan, east and west across Persia, with three months of the Tibetan yak, through Sz Ch'wan, Baltistan, and the oil-fields of Baku (which, by the way, are in many respects reminiscent of the salt and hydrogen wells of Sz Ch'wan), from Constantinople to Peking, "persistently inquiring" for four months in Japan, etc., without even a line of charting to mark the routes followed and the chief centres visited? Perhaps it is assumed that these preliminaries have all been digested from a perusal of the earlier works. The two chapters on "Japan after the War" and "Korea an Appanage of Japan" are excellent in every way, and have been brought strictly up to date. The Earl of Ronaldshay's travels and opinions, as here furbished up afresh, range between 1900 and 1910. In the case of the "Baneful Shadow of Russia" (p. 149) and the "certain Happenings" (p. 178), which led the enterprising traveller to doubt China's now unquestioned capacity for tackling Tibet, it is evident that later events have belied the judgments formed by him some years ago. But, at all events, it is to his credit that, though "I have said what I have said," he does not tinker with the text of his former *obiter dicta*,

but frankly corrects them for us in notes. When he speaks of Lord Morley's having "no personal experience of Eastern conditions," he must remember that it is not given to every man to enjoy a trot round the world, and that many of the ablest autocrats and statesmen have, as the Chinese philosopher Lao-tsz puts it, "acquired wisdom within the four walls bounded by their doorsteps."

The chapter on Japan is rather melancholy reading towards the end, and the author is probably right when he foresees a rude awakening. The present industrial conditions are sapping the vitality of the race, and cannot continue long. The Earl of Ronaldshay's book should be read, so far as this part of his subject is concerned, in connection with Mr. E. J. Harrison's "Peace or War East of Baikal?" The publisher's work is perfect, and the text is free from literary blemish. Among the few slips are Sinnim for Sinim (p. 337), Seiya-kai for Seiyu-kai (p. 367), and (p. 351) Vallombrosa for Vallambrosa (Milton): Vallombroza (Ariosto) would be permissible. Finally (p. 377), cotton was practically unknown in China 1,000 years ago, and its use is comparatively modern. Lord Ronaldshay's tributes to the Bradford Dyers Association are well deserved none the less.—E. H. PARKER.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS; SHANGHAI.

2. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 31, *Histoire du Royaume de Han*, 423-225 B.C., by the REV. A. TSCHÉPE, S.J.—Père Tschépe has already given us valuable studies, in the same series of "Variétés," upon the subject of *Wu* (No. 10), *Ts'u* (No. 22), *Ts'in* (No. 27), and *Tsin* (No. 30), these being the chief countries of the old federated China states which, under the nominal suzerainty of a series of puppet Emperors, for centuries struggled desperately for pre-eminence, until finally Ts'in demolished the whole of the feudal states one after the other, and, wading through rivers of human blood, established herself at last on the first truly imperial throne, practically giving to us, over

2,000 years ago, a centralized China much as we see her now. Père Tschepe's great historical works are much more than mere translations; they co-ordinate, with full explanatory notes, the leading facts in order of date, as given in mutually differing form and with bewildering want of historical perspective by most of, if not all, the original Chinese historians. The chief value of these monumental studies lies in the fact that persons with an historical bent who do not read the Chinese character are now enabled to examine facts for themselves as nearly as possible at first hand, and to test, check, and amend the various European works upon ancient Chinese history produced by the earlier Jesuits, by Deguignes, and by later writers, such as Rémusat, Julien, Chavannes, Hirth, and many others. Although, for some inscrutable reason, styled "*Royaume de Han*" alone, this last work of Père Tschepe really gives the separate history of *Wei* and of *Chao*, too, these three kingdoms representing the former single state of *Tsin*, as it was before it fell a prey to factional squabbles and was subdivided into three. The proper way to utilize these invaluable studies is, whilst reading, to compare them all together, date by date, and see how far the facts given in each history correspond with general political results taken from the five as a whole; besides which any apparent errors that may have crept into one may be rectified or explained by reference to the four others. The number of persons who will and who can read them "for pleasure" is naturally limited, but they will none the less be of perennial utility and charm in the future, and must be received as the second or corrected edition of the seventeenth-century Jesuit work, most of which is, from a scientific point of view, now out of date and practically obsolete.—E. H. PARKER.

WM. CLOWES AND SONS.

3. *The Nanking Monument of the Beatitudes*, by THOMAS JENNER, Member China Society, etc. (Printed for

private distribution).—It is difficult to define what this volume exactly is, or to judge on what special grounds it should have received the above title. However, Mr. Jenner is nothing if not unconventional, and his previous works have nearly all showed the same generous tendency to evade the bonds of rigid custom. In this particular case the pictures and accounts of the Moabite Stone, the Rosetta Stone, the Nestorian Tablet at Si-an Fu, and Darius' Rock of Behistan, are what will chiefly interest the ordinary man, who is not likely, be he sinologue or no, to care much about the T'ai-p'ing rebel prince's "Monument of the Beatitudes," the historical value of which is not extraordinarily high, even if it were made clear exactly what it is and where it came from.—E. H. PARKER.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

4. *The English Factories in India, 1634-1636*, by WILLIAM FOSTER.—These three years, 1634-1636, contained many events which were of moment to the English merchants in the East, and we can read them here in the vivid letters of the President of Surat, Methwold. This worthy, who was shrewd enough to retain his health by being content to "Indianize" his habits, ruled over a difficult body of merchants and factors, whose want of zeal in learning the languages of the East he deplored. During the period covered by this book mercantile routes became wider. Sind was opened, and trading facilities increased with Bengal. In 1635 an Accord was made between the English and Portuguese (no doubt from fear of the Dutch), and out of this agreement much comfort arose, and from it sprang a voyage to Macao, the first English venture in China. Piracy by other English ships (some of the pirates are of interest; one is described as "with a ring in his left ear"; another, the purser, "with a starr in his face on the left side"; while a third was named "Davy Jones") brought Methwold into disfavour, and he was imprisoned for a time. A rival trading body (we see Charles I. in an unfavourable

light again), under royal patronage, which became "Courteens' Association," gave much trouble to the Company; yet it still flourished, and obtained in 1634 a "Golden Farman," securing to its merchants exemption from duties in the kingdom of Golconda, as well as quasi-recognition from the hostile Emperor Shah Jehan, who is here shown to have been a hater of Christians. The book has a curious frontispiece of the factory of Surat as it stood about 1638, which is interesting, as it gives us an idea of the cradle of British trade in the East.—A. F. S.

ERNEST LEROUX; PARIS.

5. *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues, Extraits du Tripitaka Chinois, et Traduits en Français*, par ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, vols. i.-iii.—These three volumes contain between them 1,270 pages of matter, and, apart from their specific value to serious students of Buddhistic literature, give even the most general reader a very vivid notion of what the popular life of India was 1,200 or 1,300 years ago. In the January number of this year's Review, notice was taken of Rev. Léon Wieger's "Bouddhisme Chinois," and it was suggested that the industrious Jesuit author's ultimate intention was to plod steadily through the whole interminable Tripitaka. Meanwhile, it appears that M. Chavannes, whose appetite for solid work is equally voracious, has already ransacked a great part of the Tripitaka, and selected therefrom for our delectation the chief plums of the pudding. We are informed at the close of the author's Introduction that *le quatrième volume, contenant les notes critiques, les erratas et les index chinois, sanscrit et français, paraîtra dans le courant de l'année, 1911*. This being so, we propose to "wait and see," for, without an index, it is heavy work referring backwards and forwards.—E. H. PARKER.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.; LONDON.

6. *Big-Game Shooting in Upper Burma*, by MAJOR G. P. EVANS.—The reader will find in this pleasant book

a great deal about Burmese jungles and jungle-craft. The author is an expert *shikari*, and many elephants, gaur, banting (tsaing), tigers, and Burmese deer, from serow to muntjac, count him as their slayer. He confesses (with contrition) that he has never (yet) shot a two-horned rhinoceros, and thus only gives a short chapter on this creature, whereas his chapter on the Indian elephant is longer and full of very interesting experiences, many personal, of how to kill or avoid being killed by charging elephants. The author is convinced that almost always a "rogue" elephant is driven mad with some secret trouble (like toothache), which he has not enough philosophy to bear patiently. The writer pleads for stricter game laws to protect several species of deer, such as thamin, as he says: "In the matter of game we are adepts at shutting the stable-door after the horse has gone." An interesting chapter is given on the Burman trackers, who, in spite of the superiority of the *thakin*, are still his necessary attendants. The disquisition on arms, ammunition, and personal kit will be read with interest by the intending *shikari*, and the author considerably adds a useful glossary of Burmese words.—A. F. S.

7. *The Life and Letters of Sir John Hall*, M.D., K.C.B., F.R.C.S., by S. M. Mitra, author of "Indian Problems," "Hindupore," etc., with an introduction by Rear-Admiral Sir Massie Blomfield, K.C.M.G., with portraits and illustrations.—The subject of this Memoir was an army surgeon who entered on his professional career as a hospital assistant among the wounded survivors of the Battle of Waterloo at Brussels in 1815; subsequently served in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, South Africa, and India; was principal medical officer of the British Army throughout the Crimean campaign; and retired from the service, broken in health from his long and arduous labours in it, in 1859. He died seven years later, and his biographer sums up his career and his character in the following passage:

"Thus passed away, at the age of seventy-one, an

honourable and upright servant of the Queen, one whose keen sense of duty upheld him through all the vicissitudes of his long and arduous military career. For forty-one years he served his country in various parts of the globe, and during that time he proved himself a hard worker, a strict disciplinarian, a man not of words but of action. 'Duty' was the keystone of his character; 'labour and succeed' was his motto. The medical profession can count many a distinguished name upon its roll of honour, but none whose success has been more nobly and worthily attained."

Sir John Hall was, in truth, one of those Englishmen happily numerous in our public service, of whom the great Duke of Wellington may be taken as the archetype, whose sole object in life is the faithful performance of their duty, without care or thought for the gratification of personal aims and ambitions. His career owes its interest to the scenes and circumstances amongst which it was passed, rather than to any talents or achievements of his own; and much of that interest has evaporated during the lapse of the last fifty years. * But in these modern days not to have been the subject of a biography is almost a slur upon a man's memory; and Sir John Hall had left behind him a mass of diaries, notes, and correspondence amply sufficient to form the substratum of such a work. He had, indeed, collected materials for a history of the Medical Department of the British Army, which he was prevented from undertaking by his failing health. His family were desirous that the stores of instruction and information to be found among these materials should not be lost to the world, and they were fortunate in being able to commit them to the charge of such a distinguished author as Mr. Mitra, who has utilized them with skill and discrimination in the compilation of the present Memoir. He has explained the circumstances under which he undertook the task in the preface, and Admiral Sir M. Blomfield has indited an introduction to the volume, in which he has borne eloquent testimony to the qualifications and the talents of the biographer.

Mr. Mitra is a perfect master of the English language, and no English reader unaware of the fact of the authorship would ever suppose the book to have been written by a Hindu, though here and there such expressions as "combatant brig" and "freight-ship" convey a slight flavour of a foreign origin. He is versed in the history and world-politics of the nineteenth century to a degree very unusual in the most accomplished of his countrymen, and has displayed quite an encyclopædic knowledge in his running commentary on Sir John Hall's record of foreign travel and experiences. For in this, as in most modern biographies, a considerable amount of padding is required to fill the volume out to the full dimensions demanded by the conventions of the trade or the taste of the public. If the book had been intended for Indian readers, the explanation of how the British came into possession and occupation of the island of Jamaica and the fortress of Gibraltar might have been desirable and necessary as a prelude to the announcement of Dr. Hall's appointment to those stations (army surgeons were called doctors in those days, and apparently did not object to the title). A disquisition on the origin, the history, and the suppression of the African slave-trade and negro slavery in the West Indies occupies two and a half pages, and prefaces the statement that "At a time when a great humanitarian problem like emancipation was convulsing England and Europe generally, it seems almost incredible that John Hall should not have felt its force; yet, such was his absorption in the duties of his profession, that not a word on the subject appears in his diaries or letters; and that, too, although he was in one of the centres most affected by the movement. This fact only serves to emphasize the intense concentration with which he followed his medical career."

Similarly, when Dr. Hall proceeded to Gibraltar, the statement that its history and fame appealed to him serves as a peg whereon to hang a sketch of the historic events connected with that famous fortress; and the fact that

"when Dr. Hall reached Gibraltar the Carlist war was still raging, and the country was in a state of political commotion during the whole of his stay there," is responsible for an account of the political situation in Spain, and the origin, progress, and result of a civil war which hardly affected the southern provinces of the kingdom at all, and appears to have interested Dr. Hall as little as the question of negro emancipation. These digressions into the regions of the politics of the time make Mr. Mitra's book almost a rival of Mr. Justin McCarthy's "*History of Our Own Times*."

Dr. Hall made an excursion through Andalusia to Seville and Granada, and his diaries of Spanish travel in 1837 are entertaining reading. He makes the usual observations of an Englishman on the cruelties of a Spanish bull-fight; but England was not irreproachable in those days on the score of inhumanity, and the sixth chapter of the book is headed "*Military Flogging*," and relates how a soldier of the 7th Hussars received 150 lashes at Hounslow in the year 1846, and how his death a month afterwards gave rise to an acrimonious discussion in Parliament and in the public Press and a libel action, the arguments and judgments of which are cited in full, though Dr. Hall's connection with the case was of the slenderest kind. However, things were already much better than when he was an assistant-surgeon in the West Indies, when two British soldiers died after receiving a punishment of 1,000 lashes apiece.

Dr. Hall was afterwards employed in South Africa under Sir Harry Smith, and saw service in Kafir and Boer wars. It is curious to read how a small number of British troops defeated and dispersed a superior force of Boers at Boom-platz, but on that occasion there were some riflemen on the English side, while the Boers had only smoothbore guns. Besides fighting the Boers under Pretorius, Dr. Hall took part in two Kafir wars, the seventh and eighth of a long series of tedious and inglorious frontier wars. From the

Cape he was transferred to the post of principal medical officer in the Bombay Presidency in 1851, and was recalled thence in the spring of 1854 to assume the responsible position of chief of the medical department of the army then being despatched to the East to assist the Turks against the Russians in the contest now commonly called the Crimean War. But there was really no medical department with the army; there were only the surgeons and assistant-surgeons serving with the regiments; there was no hospital staff, there were no nurses, orderlies, or cooks or servants of any kind. A medical department had to be improvised, and its personnel drawn from the combatant ranks of the army.

The chapters on the war in the Crimea are the most interesting in the book, and the work there accomplished by Sir John Hall was the most valuable of all the services he rendered to the army and to the nation. We regret that limits of space prevent us from entering further and more fully into this subject; the controversies which raged so fiercely in the Press and in the Services on the administration of the army and the management of the campaign are here once more resuscitated, perhaps for the last time. The diaries of Sir John Hall and the letters written or received by him make interesting reading, often throwing vivid sidelights on the social and political life of the day. The observation by Colonel Josias Cloete in his letter to his friend Sir John Hall, dated December 19, 1855, that "the Russian power is annihilated in the East by the destruction of her fleet and her Nile harbour," suggests some misreading of the manuscript. This is the only error of the kind which we have noted in the volume, which is excellently got up and printed. Each chapter is headed with a comprehensive table of contents, and there is a copious index and several full-page illustrations, including a portrait of Sir John Hall in full-dress uniform and a later one in mufti, taken after his retirement; also those of Lady Hall and their daughter, Mrs. Simpson, to whose

pious care for the memory of her father the publication of the book is due. Yet another is of Sir John's grandson, Lieutenant W. A. Simpson of the Royal Artillery, who will, perhaps, some day have a biography of his own. Two pictures, one of the wounded soldiers in the streets of Brussels after the Battle of Waterloo, the other of a hand-to-hand combat at Inkerman, are reproduced from old prints published at the time.—F. H. T.

8. *Essays on the Purpose of Art*, by Mrs. BARRINGTON.—This is a remarkably learned book, and the frequent quotations from Walter Bagehot's writings and other well-known authors are certainly interesting and instructive. The great admiration, however, that the author has for Watts and Leighton, artists on whom Mrs. Barrington has written elaborately in her "Reminiscences of Watts" and "Life, Letters, and Work of Frederick Leighton," makes her, unfortunately, hostile to the evolution which has since taken place in modern art.

Yet art, like all human efforts, must never cease to develop, and cannot be crystallized. In spite of this generally accepted axiom, the learned author treats impressionism, which has produced artists like Monet, Degas, and Manet, with contempt, and ignores post-impressionists like Cezanne and Maurice-Dennis, to say nothing of Van Gog and Gauguin. She mentions, for instance, the exquisitely painted flowers of Dürer, bringing them in juxtaposition with the flowers of Lord Leighton, which he painted at Kew, but she has not a word for the flowers painted by Monet, nor for those saturated with the tropical sun of Taiti by Gauguin. These artists in their work mark an evolution, a phase in art, which a writer who shows so much sympathy for an established fame should not ignore. We must remember that the world moves daily, indeed incessantly, and art and science with it; therefore an author of the fame of Mrs. Barrington, with her well-founded admiration for the past, ought not utterly to depreciate, even if she is not in sympathy with, the evolution which has taken place in art since the

time of Leighton and Watts—not only in France and Germany, but also in England.—L. M. R.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

9. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, Vol. xviii. *Djami-el-Tévarikh, Histoire générale du Monde*, by FADL ALLAH RASHID ED-DIN; *Tarikh-i Moubarek-i Ghazani, Histoire des Mongols*, edited by E. BLOCHET, Tome ii., containing the history of Genghiz Khan's successors.—In the July (1910) number of this *Review* the introductory volume of M. Blochet's great enterprise was noticed at length, and since then he has been supplied with a list of critical observations upon the various Chinese notes attached to the Persian text. The whole of the Persian text (617 pages) has now been printed by him, together with seventy more pages of notes in the shape of appendix, and sixteen plates, preceded by a descriptive list, all of which are now in the present writer's hands. Thus, M. Blochet's second volume is at last complete, and it is understood that, of the remaining two volumes, the printing of vol. iii. will be commenced directly after the summer vacation, vol. i. being left to the last. As indicated in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July, 1910, the second volume—that is, the completed vol. ii.—now under notice, treats of the history of Genghiz Khan's imperial successors, from Ogdai to Timur; of the appanaged sons of Genghiz; and of the Mongol Governors of Persia, from Hulagu to Ghazan. Amongst the sixteen plates now ready for binding with the text is an interesting picture of Kublai Khan himself, wearing a "buttoned" hat, which suggests that the Manchu "button" was originally a Mongol invention, as, indeed, the Manchu pigtail was clearly a Turkish badge.

In the present number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* we cannot well do more than call attention again to this really important work; in fact, it is not possible to do more until a translation of the Persian text is published in some "readable" language, such as French or English.

It might have been possible here to allude to certain interesting points in the Chinese notes, but the list of critical remarks made under this head is still in the hands of M. Blochet himself, and no copy has been kept, so that the writer's "teeth are drawn."—E. H. PARKER.

MORGAN AND SCOTT, LIMITED; LONDON.

10. *Among the Tribes in South-West China*, by SAMUEL R. CLARKE.—This book is a very welcome contribution to Chinese ethnological literature, for, although there are various papers to be found on the various Miao-tsz tribes in the *Shanghai Asiatic Society's Journal* (1859, and vol. xxxiii.), the *China Review* (vol. ix.), the *Chinese Recorder* (vols. iii., xv., xxx., xxxix., xl.), and the *Revue Orientale* (1882), no one who has actually lived and (as the missionaries say) "laboured" amongst them has so far attempted a systematic study of them. The Catholic missionary, P. Paul Vial, published, it is true, a very good account of the Lolos in 1898, and M. Augustine Henry, whose experiences of these last are very extensive, *did* intend to give the public a further treatise on the same subject eight years ago; his papers are, it is believed, still available to anyone who will go through them, and who will "hustle" a likely publisher to take action.

The present reviewer had the honour of Mr. Clarke's acquaintance at Chungking in 1880, as also (if memory fail not) of that of his colleagues and fellow-workers in Miao-tsz proselytism—to wit, the Rev. A. Riley and Rev. J. Nicholls. The daily subject of conversation in those days was, "Well, how many opium suicides have you prevented to-day?" It is interesting to read now (p. 148) that amongst the savages, as amongst the Chinese, "there is no more effective missionary, especially for pioneer work, than a medical missionary." One of the most important results of Mr. Clarke's investigations is that the Chung-kia tribes, hitherto usually classed among the Miao, really belong to the great Shan or Thai race, which, to the number of 20,000,000 or

30,000,000, still covers Siam, Laos, the eastern and northern parts of Burma, and a great part of Yün Nan, Kwei Chou, Kwang Si, and even portions of Tonquin and Hainan, as to which last place he also quotes Mr. Freeman, an American missionary with fifteen years' experience of Northern Siam, but who, not having actually been there, cannot speak with certainty about Hainan. However, in vol. xix. of the *China Review* the present writer endeavoured to prove from personal investigation on the spot that some at least of the "Loi" of Hainan still spoke Thai dialects; his paper was duly followed in vol. xx. by one from the pen of the late Rev. Carl Jeremiassen, who contributed from the accumulations of his vast experience in Hainan a valuable list showing that quite a large number of "Loi" tribes spoke practically one and the same language. Mr. Clarke's guess (p. 90) that the Chung-kia are simply the lineal descendants of the ruling race in the old Nan-chao empire, which had political and warlike relations with the Abbasside caliphs, Tibet, China, and the Ouigours over 1,000 years ago, is very probable. As to the Miao-tsz of the extreme north part of Kwei Chou, a short vocabulary illustrating their language was given in vol. ix. (pp. 340-42) of the *China Review*, from which it appears that Mr. Clarke's national designation of *Hmung* (p. 27) is there corroborated.

Mr. Clarke's book (300 pages) is not only interesting in so far that it throws some new light upon the race movements of the three main *souches* which displaced the still more ancient Kêh-lao (as he calls them), to be themselves gradually displaced in turn by the Chinese; but it is also important from a practical missionary point of view, and shows how easy it is by patience and kindness to extract permanent good results out of the most unpromising material, such as these tribes present. Their religion and their morality, or perhaps in too many cases their entire absence of such, are carefully discussed, and it is also made quite plain that all the languages spoken, without exception, belong to the monosyllabic—what Mr. Clarke always styles

the "syllabic"—order. It is curious to note, too, that while the Lolos have a written script of their own, the Miao tribes have never had any such, nor, whilst quite conscious of the fact, shown the least desire to possess one; even now, when their language is being romanized for them, they appear to prefer to learn Chinese and use Chinese characters if they must learn something. The late Viceroy, Ts'ên Yüh-ying, who is usually supposed to have been of Miao-tsz descent, was, according to our author, of Chung-kia origin; but the distinctly unique facial traits and expressions of the Black Miao women, whose photographs are here given to us, certainly resemble in a striking degree the features of Ts'ên's son, the still living ex-Viceroy, Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan.

Mr. Clarke's ancient history of the Miao is perhaps a little weak: "A.D." 1123 (p. 20) should be "B.C.," and it is difficult to make anything at all out of "Shuen" Wang's conquest (p. 2) "about 800 B.C." There are also a few blemishes in English—e.g., "that catastrophe" (p. 43); but possibly the printer is here at fault. The entire absence of map or index greatly detracts from the value of the book, which, however, is to be commended as a first step in the right direction; and it is unpretentious.—E. H. PARKER.

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; LONDON AND
EDINBURGH.

II. *The Analects of Confucius*, by W. E. SOOTHILL, Principal of the Imperial University, Shan Si (Fuku-in Printing Company, Yokohama).—The Rev. W. E. Soothill, who honoured us with his presence on a preaching tour in England three years ago, has for a generation past been attached to the Methodist Free Church Mission at Wênchow, upon the curious dialect of which place he is now quite a leading authority; his house was burnt down about his head during the anti-French riot of 1884; but that exciting incident soon blew over, and ever since then he has cemented still more friendly relations with the old-world natives of that

isolated port, not without also finding leisure to cultivate the "mandarin" dialect, his pocket-dictionary of which now entitles him to take high rank even as a Pekingese scholar. It is perhaps fortunate for him that he strayed from his rustic acquaintances in incomprehensible Wenchow to sinological surroundings where sweeter pastures lie, for, on the one hand, the dialect of T'ai-yüan Fu (capital of Shan Si) presents no serious difficulties to either Nanking or Peking speakers, and, on the other, it is hardly to be thought that he would have been appointed to such an important position as that of University Principal unless he had added the possession of an intelligible Chinese dialect to his otherwise ripe scholarship. His present post must be particularly congenial to him, as the University was practically a gift to China by the friends of murdered missionaries.

Although innumerable translations of Confucius' *Analects* have flooded the market within the past ten years, it is not too much to say that Mr. Soothill's admirable work of 1,000 pages fills quite a crying want. As he says, Dr. Legge's imperishable translation is now practically inaccessible to the man of small means, besides being in several respects a little antique, "wooden," and unsatisfying. We are now given by Mr. Soothill a concise account of, first, the ancient history of China; and, second, of the life and times of Confucius. (It is at this date unnecessary to repeat the painstaking but wordy pioneer examination into conflicting authorities and views of rival commentators so conscientiously undertaken by Dr. Legge, to whose monumental work the unco-scrupulous can still, of course, refer if they wish.) Then the author gives us a short historical account of the *Analects* themselves, and of their authenticity, followed by a list of the chief native works on the same *Analects* during the past 2,000 years; it may be mentioned that the very last of these is an illustrated version in the mandarin dialect, dated 1905, and as there is talk now of abolishing all dialects but the mandarin for public administrative purposes, this last may, if properly revised, turn

out to be of great educational value, besides being a great boon to missionaries; but it needs extension and recasting.

Then come a list, and a short account, of the disciples mentioned in the *Analects*; chronological and dynastic tables up to the time when Confucianism was formally established as part of the State system; and a chronology of events affecting Confucius himself, ending with his promotion in 1907 from rank with the Sun to rank with Heaven and Earth. Finally, there is a tolerably good map showing the capitals of the true Chinese federated States in Confucius's time, and proving at a glance that China spread out from small beginnings on the Yellow River (just as Rome spread from part of Italy all over Southern Europe and the Mediterranean) over the Yangtze River to the ocean and the desert.

Nine-tenths of the book are taken up by the *Analects* and translation work. This is all admirably done, and in a way that saves the weariness of incessant reference. First we are given the full text—only about thirty or forty characters on each second page—with Mr. Soothill's own "eclectic" translation in very large, clear print below; on each of the opposite pages are selections, when needed, from the English, Latin, and French versions of Legge and Ku Hung-ming, of the late Père Zottoli, and of Père Couvreur, who, it seems, has recently published an admirable work on the subject. There can be no doubt that Mr. Soothill's work has come to stay, the more so in that it can be used by missionaries in order to render more intelligible the points of Christian doctrine they wish to make clear, and also in the Chinese Universities for the purpose of teaching English, with a seasoning of French and Latin all thrown in with the original Chinese. It is also quite intelligible to persons at home, even though they know not a word of Chinese, Latin, or French. In a word, the author is to be felicitated warmly on his "happy thought." He has "struck oil."

We have only one bone to pick with him: he has been guilty of the grave dereliction of giving us no English

index; it is very badly wanted, and should be added to the later impressions. The index of Chinese characters in the text is very useful, but at first sight it does not strike us as being so complete as MacLagan's Index to Lao-tsz.—
E. H. PARKER.

MESSRS. G. P. PUTNAM AND SONS; NEW YORK AND
LONDON. THE KNICKERBOCKER PRESS.

12. *Islam Lands: Nubia, the Sudan, Tunisia, and Algeria*, by MICHAEL MYERS SHOEMAKER, author of "Islands of the Southern Seas," "Wanderings in Ireland," "Winged Wheels in France," etc. With forty-four illustrations.—Mr. M. M. Shoemaker is already well known to the literary world as a type of the increasing class of American travelling authors who travel in foreign lands for their own pleasure and write accounts of their travels for the amusement and instruction of their countrymen. Gifted with powers of quick observation and facile expression, a journalistic style, a fair amount of humour, and an extensive knowledge of general history, he has compiled this record of a cold-weather journey through part of Northern Africa from his own personal experiences, mixed with historical allusions and moral reflections and with much entertaining personal gossip about the celebrities and nonentities whom he met with in the course of his tour. The Islam lands which he describes are precisely those in which the law of Islam is no longer the law of the land, for Nubia and the Egyptian Sudan are governed by Englishmen, Tunis and Algiers by Frenchmen. Musalman political jurists divide the world into *Dār ul Islām* and *Dār ul Harb*, the lands respectively of peace and of war. Under the former category come all countries where the law of the Koran is the law of the land; under the latter all countries in which it is not so. But in these days Islam lands are for the most part ruled over by Christians and infidels, and the Shariat, or sacred law of Divine origin, is thrust from the judgment-seat, and replaced by statutes and

codes of mere human devising. And the late attempt of the Mahdi and his successors in the Egyptian Sudan to re-establish the Dár ul Islám in its pristine purity certainly did not result in any increased prosperity of the country or happiness of the people. Mr. Shoemaker bears eloquent testimony on this point. He is a warm admirer of English methods of administration, and an energetic advocate of England's right to maintain the position which she has acquired in Egypt through the imbecility and incompetence of its native rulers. He has a great admiration for the brave and unfortunate General Gordon, and devotes considerable space to an exposure of the fatuity of Mr. Gladstone's policy with regard to the Sudan. From Gordon and Gladstone to King Psammetichus is a far cry, but no subjects are too wide apart or too slenderly connected for his discursive pen.

After visiting Khartúm and Omdurman, he took rail to Port Sudan, and went thence by steamer to Suez. On the voyage one of the native passengers died and was buried at sea, on which occasion the author offers the following reflections :

"I shall always think of the man we have just sent overboard as walking around way down there in the darkness, upright because of the irons bound to his feet, yet, because of the density of the water, unable ever to reach the bottom and be at rest. Hence he must, until his final disintegration, go solemnly bobbing around, unless the waters mash him flat, which they probably will do."

It will be observed from the above passage that Mr. Shoemaker deals largely in what are styled by the dwellers on this side of the herring-pond Americanisms. His pages teem with such expressions as "the native town lies back of all this"; "an attack of illness housed her for the rest of our visit." A meadow in Tunis is "spotted with buttercups," and the Great Bear figures under one more alias as "the Great Dipper." The traveller only tarries in Cairo for the space of two chapters, which city he finds much

altered since he visited it in the time of the Khedive Ismail. Lord Dalhousie said on his arrival in India in 1847, "When I left Cairo I left the East behind me"; but to-day Cairo is much more European than Bombay or Calcutta. He gives a new variant of the popular legend of the Mameluke's leap, making the hero of the story leap his horse through a window instead of from the battlements of the citadel. One change he notices and deplores in the social life of Cairo—the complete ostracism of the native Egyptian and Levantine elements by English society. In the time of the Pashas it was not so; natives and Europeans mixed together in social functions. The author condemns the exclusiveness of the Englishman in this matter as neither wise nor politic. He is at the same time conscious that the prejudice against the race and colour of alien peoples strongly affects the feelings of his own countrymen, and is, indeed, characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Latin peoples show more toleration in these matters. From Egypt the traveller took steamer to Tunis, missing out Tripoli, the only real Islam land besides Morocco left in Northern Africa. He visited the ruins of Carthage and the holy city of Karawan, and motored through Algeria, visiting in turn Constantine, Biskra, Bujeya, and Algiers, finally embarking at Oran for Spain. He informs us that the heliograph is no modern invention, for it was used at Bujeya commonly in A.D. 1068. He gives no authority for this statement, nor does he say by whom it was commonly used. He also tells us that this city gave its name to the French for candle, *bougie*, as the wax came from there. From what old-fashioned book did he obtain the name of Hutman for the third Khalifa (Othman), and Hucba for that of his lieutenant, the Arab conqueror of Barbary? In other passages he gives the name more correctly as Okba and Okhba. His knowledge of history is more extensive than accurate. Lombardy was never conquered by Arabs from Tunis. The allusion is probably to the fact of their having effected lodgments at Bari and other places on the

southern coast of Italy when that country was ruled over by the Lombards. Mr. Shoemaker visited the ruined Roman city at Timgad in Algeria, which he considers superior in interest to Pompeii. He, like many others, is puzzled by the accounts which we read of Moorish culture and civilization in the Middle Ages in comparison with the character and condition of the Moors to-day. The explanation is simple: the culture and civilization of the Arabs in Spain and Sicily was simply that of the provinces of the Roman Empire which they had conquered. They acquired the art and learning of their new subjects, but they could not improve upon it, could not even preserve it. The lamps of science and philosophy burned brightly among them for some time, but were soon and finally extinguished. The Moors resembled the oran-outang, who gladly warms himself at the embers of the fire left by the traveller in the woods, but who has not wit enough to put on more fuel to prevent its extinction.

As in the case of the English in Egypt, Mr. Shoemaker finds the French government in Northern Africa infinitely superior to any conceivable indigenous system. The splendid roads which the French have everywhere constructed especially call forth his admiration. The two hundred-mile-long stretch of road between *Bougie* and *Jijeli* is in his opinion one of the finest pieces of road-making in the world. Europe has nothing to equal it. And he goes on to say: "France has here, as all over the land, built for the future. The equal of the Roman roads, these will last for centuries, and by their means France is opening this country and preparing it for the immense population it will certainly contain in the coming years."

The book is excellently illustrated with full-page photographs of scenes and persons, some taken by the author himself, others by friends or by professional artists. Among the latter is the portrait of Major-General Sir Rudolph von Slatin Pasha, with the whole breast of his tunic covered with a perfect galaxy of stars and crosses. The cover of

"Islam Lands" is ornamented with the figure of a black and pagan Dinka savage standing upon one leg in the stork-like attitude of repose peculiar to the natives of the White Nile regions. The book is furnished with a copious table of contents and a somewhat scanty index, and is well printed, with a singular absence of misprints. Such mistakes as "scared" for "scarred," "inflicted" for "afflicted," and "sâle à manger," are probably referable to the author's manuscript rather than to the printer's copy. The last might even be intentional, since it refers to the dining-room of a French hotel in a small provincial town in Algeria.—F. H. T.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; LONDON.

13. *The Incas of Peru*, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S.—This is a very fascinating story of Inca civilization, and was told to our fathers by Dr. Robertson, whose "History of America" appeared in 1778, and to ourselves by Mr. Prescott, whose "Conquest of Peru" was published in 1843. But since the publication of the latter work a great deal of subsequently discovered material has quite altered our view of some things and thrown light on others. In this new work the author, who spent much time in Peru fifty years ago making an exhaustive study of the historically important subject, and has since kept up his knowledge of the literary labours of the Peruvians in the direction of Inca research by correspondence with friends and the receipt of books and pamphlets, embodies the result of his researches. The book will prove interesting to the general reader, while offering useful material for study to the more serious historical student. It embodies a reduction of a map of the area described, which took two years in compilation and drawing, and includes the material of thirty-two recent maps and reports; and it has, as appendices, a translation of the Inca drama of "Ollantay," and a curious love-story told to Morna by Amantas in about

1585. The volume is well printed and profusely illustrated.
—G. L.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO.; LONDON.

14. *Saito Musashi-Bō Benkei* ("Tales of the Wars of the Gempei"), by James S. de Benneville. Vols. i. and ii. Illustrated. Published by the author in Yokohama.—This is an exhaustive work, in which the author has given an analysis of the lives of almost everyone of note or otherwise who lived and acted for praise or blame during those terrible times in Japanese history when the different clans fought for supremacy. The story of Benkei-San, the giant, and the undersized Yoshitsune the Minamoto, is known to everyone in Japan, and should be able to claim equal acquaintance with Japan's allies, considering how often the devotion of these two historic characters to each other has been described.

Benkei-San, like many other great men who intended to make themselves notorious, began life as a daring, audacious, vindictive young man. He traded on his surprising personal appearance and immense strength. His youthful pranks often extended to cruelties, particularly as he lived in the days of wild romance, coupled with highly strung sentiment concerning the deadly weapon with which young men were permitted to equip themselves and make use of promiscuously without "respect of persons." So boldly insolent were his actions that it may be questioned if the admiration that has been accorded to this giant is not a little overstrained. But, like all braves of his calibre, there came a time when he began to repent of his youthful follies and settle down to useful energy, in which noble traits of character predominated. His devotion through the most wonderful adventures and tragic vicissitudes to Yoshitsune the Minamoto in war and peace is the crown of Benkei-San's praise.

Mr. de Benneville has concentrated his energies into giving minute details of every incident during the struggle

that constituted the Wars of the Gempei. His efforts will prove useful for reference, but, unless the reader is as enthusiastic as the writer, these chronicles of war, bloodshed, intrigues, cruelties, and other terrible tragedies that continued through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, will be found somewhat harrowing and *étouffant*; for in the telling they extend over 900 pages, with an introduction alone occupying 138.

Among the many historical personages whose character and motives have received close criticism is that of Yoshitsuni's mother, Tokiwa-gozen. In art and literature we have always associated this historic beauty of the twelfth century with all womanly instincts and true traits of motherly devotion, alike to her children, to the author of their being, and to her own mother. Her cruel fate at the hands of Kiyomori, after her many trials and flight from Yoshitomo's mansion in order to protect her three sons; her absolute surrender to Kiyomori's wiles for the sake of delivering her mother from the tormentor's hands, has always endeared this pathetic figure to our sympathy. How many times have we seen representations of this beautiful matron shielding her boys against the fury of the snowstorm and the apprehension of their enemies in hot pursuit. The Taira spies were ever to be her deadly enemies; and her injunctions to her latest born to avenge the enemies of his father was deeply instilled into the childish mind, where it took root and bore fruit. The failings of the mother of such a beloved hero as Yoshitsune might have been more leniently dealt with, for her life, after all, was in due accordance with the teaching instilled into the devoted, self-sacrificing women of Old Japan.

It is to be regretted that Mr. de Benneville's laborious researches should be depreciated by the manner in which the illustrations are produced. Anglo-Japanese art is not a pleasing alliance. Modern machine paper is not suitable for the representation of native Japanese work.—S.

T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

15. *Eastern Asia: A History*, by IAN C. HANNAH, M.A., CAMB.—It is stated on the title-page that Mr. Hannah was for two years (1897-99) master of the English school at Tientsin, so that to a certain extent he has had the opportunity of collecting his materials more or less on the spot at an active political centre; it is presumed that he has since then followed up and digested his subject sedulously by the light of subsequent events, for he has certainly succeeded in turning out a very readable skeleton history of those portions of the East practically unknown to Europe previous to Marco Polo's time. And he seems to have done this with a minimum of those mistakes which compilers at second hand are apt to fall into. It is to be regretted that he did not think fit to bestow the accompaniment of at least a sketch-map upon his readers; when it is remembered that his subject in point of area covers nearly a hemisphere east from the meridian of Moscow, it will easily be understood that his narrative is so terse and condensed that the most industrious of readers must be occasionally nonplussed. For instance, in the case of such places as Ternate, Chowmodo, and Goolo Hill, how on earth are we to follow out the subject? The merest skeleton map, naming only the actual localities mentioned in the narrative, would have sufficed for mental orientation. As a matter of fact, *Chao-modo*, or the "wood of Chao," is in 47.42 N. Lat. and 8.40 W. long. (from Peking), quite close to Urga; but few persons can be expected to know this, and it might just as well have been in Kashgaria or Korea for all the average reader can guess. Not one person in 10,000 (barring Dutchmen) has the faintest idea where Ternate is; and as for Goolo Hill—well, we give it up. On the other hand, a sincere compliment is due to the author for his patience and intelligence in assisting the reader by numerous cross-references to other pages, both past and to come. In a book of almost pure reference—and that is what "Eastern

Asia" really is—it is of importance to be able to confirm dates, persons, and places at once; for, the main narrative being extremely sketchy, and therefore elusive, it is essential that the attention be not allowed to wander from the main point. It is certainly not easy to keep an average reader's attention riveted whilst carrying him rapidly over such vast distances and periods; hence, perhaps, Mr. Hannah may be pardoned for enlivening perusal by occasionally indulging in a little colloquial humour, not to say flippancy, which, however, scarcely ever distinctly crosses the line of good taste. Unlike many excellent writers on the Far East, who ought to have known better, Mr. Hannah supplies us with a tolerably good, but by no means complete, index. For instance, he shows a proper scepticism about the Chinese knowledge of the compass, gunpowder, movable types, "taxicabs," and so on, or rather about the elementary discoveries which *might* have developed into these useful objects of economic art; but when we desire to refresh our memories on artillery, gunpowder, "taxicabs," Philip II., Ibn Batuta, Mexico, Count Suyematsu, and Capuchins—not to mention scores of other subjects—we search the index in vain. Authors should understand once for all that if a book of reference is a good book, the making and proof-correcting of the index alone, to be perfect, ought to occupy the author as long as the compiling of the book itself, and no hireling hand should be entrusted with the duty. In speaking of the "Law of Manu," the author incidentally speaks of the author (500 B.C.), "insulting the Chinese," but gives us no evidence or reference. As the Chinese had no knowledge of India at this date, and (so far as we know) the Indians had equally little of the Chinese, this remarkable statement, if true, might be of the utmost historical import. In some places Mr. Hannah is obscure, or presumes too much on the miscellaneous knowledge of his readers. For instance (p. 47) "an unselfish Napoleon, with 'mettam' in place of 'gloire'": this "mettam" leaves us quite in the dark as to

what peculiar moral feature Alexander the Great is suggested to have possessed. On p. 45 an obscure subject is rendered trebly obscure by three references to notes; but there is only one note, which note does not seem to correspond to any one of the three references; moreover, the triple allusion (if such it be) to Arrian as an authority on Imam is not supported by the list of B.C. authorities given in the Appendix. There are scores of instances in Mr. Hannah's book where important statements are made without any suggestion of authority. For example (p. 52), the mysterious Tibetan King who introduced Buddhism in B.C. 310; the introduction of Christianity (p. 53) among the Scythians about A.D. 40; the allusion to the Sultan of Sulu's grave (p. 292) in Shan Tung; the occupation by the Chinese of Sagalien Island in the eighteenth century (p. 274); Lin's letter to Queen Victoria (p. 225), etc. The get-up of the book is excellent from the publisher's point of view, and there are not many errors that "matter": amongst them are (p. 291) Tsai-*hsün* for the Regent of China, whose name is Tsai-*feng* (*hsün* is his naval brother); *Bake*-house for *Back*house (p. 287); Sontag for Sontay (p. 265); Chung Chow Fu (p. 234) for Ch'ang-chou Fu; *Hi* for *Hai* (p. 232). It may be added that Wu San-kwei never succeeded in obtaining the Dalai's military aid (p. 184); the "Java" of p. 116 becomes "Sumatra" on p. 213: which is it? In every case Mr. Hannah makes too much fuss about the word "Malay," which he seems to think an absurd word; it was already national in Kublai's time. On the whole "Eastern Asia" is a charming, skilful, and sagacious book.—E. H. PARKER.

GEORGE ALLEN AND SONS; LONDON.

16. *Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, by F. C. HODGSON.—This is a continuation of the author's former work, which brought the history of Venice down to the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and is a learned

study of the development of Venice, her conquests and her constitution, during the two succeeding centuries. We are warned in the preface that the writer has not "thought it necessary to apologize for the Venetians who disbelieved in democracy and in the natural right of unskilled men to govern themselves and their fellows ill," so we know his point of view at once, and can bear it in mind when we read his account of the constitution and its dangers. He writes in a style which needs close reading; he is scarcely happy in his early chapters on Frederick II., and Eccelino. We read with interest, however, his accounts of the early rivalries between Genoa and Venice, the later supremacy of the latter in the Adriatic, the many attacks on the constitution, the new ground which he has broken regarding the Catalonian Company and its adventurers, and, above all, his chapters on the growth of trade with the Far East, and the travels there of Marco Polo and his successors.—A. F. S.

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

17. *India and Tibet: A History of the Relations which have subsisted between the two Countries from the time of Warren Hastings to 1910; together with a particular account of the Mission to Lhasa of 1904, by SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.L.E.* With maps and illustrations.—Our precipitate scuttle from Tibet and deliberate throwing away of the solid results laboriously achieved there by Sir Francis Younghusband in 1904 are not likely to be soon forgotten. The circumstances of that astonishing *volle-face*, so derogatory to British interests and prestige, and disastrous to the people of Tibet, might have remained an enigma to the general public but for this masterly book, which coming, as it does, from the leader of the expedition himself, possesses the most authoritative character for its political history—an authority to which the work of no other writer can lay claim.

The political story here related is of absorbing interest.

It begins with a general survey of the relations between Tibet and the British in India up till 1904. The external features of the march of the Mission of that year across the Forbidden Land and the warlike incidents by the way are passed over in a few pages, as they have already been adequately dealt with in more than one descriptive book. But what is altogether new is the detailed account of the political transactions from the inside, as told by the leader himself. He conducts the reader through all the mazes of the negotiations, introduces him to the envoys and other dignitaries, and discloses the motives for the various moves and counter-moves on the diplomatic board. The whole forms a narrative of unusual interest.

The assertion, so often made, that our advance to Lhasa was the outcome of "wicked" scheming bureaucrats and aggressive proconsuls is effectually disposed of. Sir Francis Younghusband points out that such imperial movements are inevitable, and irrespective of whichever party chances to be in power. Even Lord Morley and Sir Edward Grey, than whom no one could have desired less to intervene in Tibet, were forced last year, on the flight of the Dalai Lama, to take up an equally militant attitude. "They had come to office supported by an enormous majority in the country—a majority which had had this very question of Tibet before them. They had nothing to fear from opposition in Parliament or in the country. They had shown themselves most amenable and compliant to Chinese wishes and Chinese methods. . . . We also engaged in a definite treaty not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. . . . Everything we could do to avoid interference and irritation we did. And every sign of intriguing officials had disappeared from India. Lord Curzon had left, Mr. White and I had retired, Captain O'Connor was in Persia, and there was a new Foreign Secretary. *Yet, just as many troops as accompanied the Mission at the start were moved to the frontier, ready to advance into Tibet at any time.* If men like Lord Morley

and Sir Edward Grey so act, may it not be inferred that bureaucrats also are carried along against their will by some strange force. Circumstances, undoubtedly not of our own making, forced on the Mission to Tibet against our deliberate wish and intention."

Our evacuation of the Chumbi Valley is now generally recognized as having been a most unfortunate blunder, and it was done against the emphatic protest of the Commissioner. That great natural gateway for commercial intercourse between Tibet and India was our sole material guarantee for the observance of the treaty and the opening of the trade marts, which, by the way, still remain effectively closed.

The recent developments by which China has seized to herself all the solid results of our Mission, and usurped the Government of Tibet with the avowed object of destroying the nationality and independence of that country, and reducing it to the position of a mere province of China, are referred to in detail. "We had a square stand-up fight [with the Tibetans], and we made friends afterwards. We should always, therefore, like to see a guiding and protecting hand extended to them. And what especially rankles with us is that when *we* had knocked them over, and while they were still down, the Chinese should have proceeded to kick them. While the Tibetans were strong the Chinese did nothing. Even after they were down the Chinese did not touch them while we were about; only after we had left Chumbi did the kicking commence. And I do not myself see why we should have regarded the process so placidly." At present China, in defiance of the treaties and her assurances, has taken the government entirely into her own hands, and there is no longer any Tibetan authority in existence. The Tibetans, rendered defenceless by us, are cruelly oppressed by their Chinese rulers. Those of Batang have been ordered to adopt the queue and Chinese dress and trousers; and from Central Tibet come harrowing tales of persecution, whilst the Dalai

Lama is still a refugee in India, imploring the aid of the British. Now, it is clear that, whilst formerly it was supposed to be the Tibetans who opposed the entry of Europeans into their country, it is really the Chinese who present the chief obstacle to intercourse between India and Tibet, and they have been doing this all along.

Upon the subversive tendency of our system of centralized government, which in its attempts to rule India from London is held to have contributed to this disastrous political upheaval, Sir Francis Younghusband comments with frank outspokenness. The constructive forward policy which he would urge for Tibet in the future, and for Afghanistan and the Indian frontier generally as well, is: "the substitution of intimacy for isolation, far-seeing initiative to control events instead of the passivity which lets events control us, the use of personality in place of pen and paper." This, in other words, means, as regards Tibet, a British Resident at Lhasa.

All readers of this important book will wish its distinguished author a speedy and complete restoration to health, and fresh opportunities for further serving his country, whose interests in the past he has advanced with such conspicuous courage and devotion.—L. A. W.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Papers on Inter-Racial Problems, communicated to the First Universal Races Congress held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911, edited for the Congress Executive by G. SPILLER, Hon. Organizer of the Congress (London: P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, S.W.). See our summary on this subject.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Siamese Section at the Turin International Exhibition of 1911, compiled by G. E. GERINI, Commissioner-General of Siam, assisted by various specialists, with illustrations, maps, and a coloured reproduction of the Siamese pavilion.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian*

Literary Society (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1911 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, July, August, and September, 1911 (published by the Society at 8-2, Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The English School Magazine*, No. 7, Nicosia, Cyprus (Midsummer, 1911);—*La Réorganisation de la Justice Répressive au Congo Belge* (Hayez, Imprimeur des Académies, Brussels);—*Ostasiatische Neubildungen, Beiträge zum Verständnis der politischen und kulturellen Entwicklungs-Vorgänge im Fernen Osten*, by Dr. O. Franke (Verlag von C. Boysen, Hamburg);—*The Commentaries of Isko 'Dad of Merv, Bishop of Hadatha (circa A.D. 850)*, in Syriac and English, edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson; in three volumes, with an introduction by James Rendel Harris, M.A.; vol. i., Translation; vol. ii., Matthew and Mark in Syriac; vol. iii., Luke and John in Syriac (Cambridge: at the University Press);—*Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for the Year 1908-09*; part i., Administrative (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing);—*Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the Year ending March 31, 1911* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma);—*The Encyclopædia of Islam*, a dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Muhammedan peoples, edited by M. H. Houtsma and T. W. Arnold, No. ix. (London: Luzac and Co.; Leyden: E. J. Brill);—*L'Inde sa Condition Actuelle*, by Édouard Clavery, Consul de France (Berger - Levrault et Cie., éditeurs, Paris);—*Selections from the Records of the Madras Government Dutch Records*, Nos. 13, 14, and 15 (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press);—*The Eleventh Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1911*, the Department of Finance (Tokyo: Printed by the Government Printing Office);—*The Bhagavad-Gita, or the Lord's Song*, with the text in Devanagari,

and an English translation by Annie Besant (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following books: *The Flight of the Dragon*, by Laurence Binyon (London: John Murray);—*Hebrew Satire*, by J. Chotzner, PH.D. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—On the auspicious occasion of His Majesty's Coronation the King-Emperor received a message from the Viceroy offering loyal and respectful congratulations on behalf of himself and the Government and people of India, to which he replied in the following terms: "The Queen-Empress and I have received with much pleasure the message conveyed in your telegram from the Government and people of India. Will you convey to them our sincere thanks and assure them that we appreciate their loyal sentiments."

Their Majesties the King and Queen are expected to leave England to reach India for the Coronation Durbar, which takes place on December 12. Orders have been issued that December 7, the day of the State entry of the royal party into Delhi, and December 12, the day of the Imperial Durbar, be observed as public holidays throughout India. A royal proclamation will be read in every town and village in India on December 12.

On account of the drought throughout India the King has sanctioned the abandonment of the military manœuvres in connection with the Durbar.

Lord Crewe has accepted the scheme for a Mahomedan University at Aligarh, provided adequate financial support is forthcoming. The details for the organization of the institution have also been approved.

The All-India Memorial to King Edward will take the

form of a colossal bronze equestrian statue, which will be erected between the Jama Masjid and the Alexandra Gate at the Delhi Fort. The pedestal will be of red sandstone, matching the walls of the fort. It will not be completed in time to permit of its unveiling at the Durbar, but the King-Emperor will place a bronze tablet on the pedestal.

From a report on the irrigation of India in 1909-10 we gather that the total area irrigated was about 22,500,000 acres, while the value of crops raised by works for which capital accounts are kept, is estimated at nearly 60 crores of rupees, or about 11.6 per cent. of the capital outlay expended on them.

The monsoon conditions in India are causing great anxiety. About 150 stations report rain below the average. Acute conditions prevail in Gujerat, Kathiawar, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. The rainfall is deficient in the Central Provinces and Berar, but not to the same serious extent. The Southern Deccan is more favourably circumstanced. On going to press reports have arrived of some rain in a number of districts.

The Punjab Municipal Act, which has received the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor, will come into force on October 1.

Sir John Edge and Syed Ameer Ali have been appointed members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Sir A. Wilson having resigned his appointment.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to grant a salute of fifteen guns to his Highness Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Sri Sri Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, K.C.I.E., of Bhutan, as an hereditary distinction, and a personal salute of seventeen guns to Major-General His Highness Maharaja Bahadur Sir Pratap Singhji, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., A.D.C., for so long as he is Regent of the Jodhpur State.

Sir Percy Lake will succeed Sir Douglas Haig as Chief of the General Staff in India.

On the retirement of Mr. Wilmot in October as the Under-Secretary in the Public Works Department of the

Government of India, Mr. Hawkins, at present Under-Secretary, P.W.D., Madras, will fill the post.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The King has received from the Maharaja of Gwalior the sum of £8,000, with a request that His Majesty will allot the money to charitable institutions as a gift from the Maharaja in commemoration of the Coronation. The King accordingly allotted £2,000 to King Edward's Hospital Fund for London, and £1,000 each to six other institutions.

We deeply regret to announce the death of the Nizam of Hyderabad, which occurred on August 29 at Simla. He is succeeded by his son, who was installed at Hyderabad on September 2. The Resident, at the installation, expressed his sympathy with the Nizam on the death of his father, and congratulated him on his succession, and advised him to follow his experienced advisers and to avoid violent changes. The Nizam said he realized his responsibilities, and intended to follow in his father's footsteps. His best endeavours would be always directed towards strengthening the traditions of Hyderabad as a faithful ally of the Indian Government.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Sanction has been obtained to send an expedition to the frontier to punish the Abor tribe for the murder of Mr. Noel Williamson and his party on the Assam border in April last. The force will comprise 2,000 men, and will start towards the end of October.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—Captain Arthur Henderson Young, K.C.M.G., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Federated Malay States, has been appointed Governor of the Straits Settlements in succession to Sir John Anderson, G.C.M.G., who was appointed permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

SIAM.—The coronation of King Maha Vajiravudh has been fixed for the end of November.

AFGHANISTAN.—Reports of local Afghan officials on the Indo-Afghan border seem to show that the orders of the Ameer as to expelling outlaws, or causing them to reside fifty

miles from the frontier line, has been carried out. This has put a stop to raiding on a large scale into British territory, but the smaller tribes of desperadoes occasionally give a little trouble. In Waziristan some of the tribesmen have actually shown themselves hostile to the outlaws, and it is reported that two of the latter were summarily killed in July.

PERSIA.—The exiled Shah, Mahomed Ali, with half a dozen of his followers, which included his brother, Shua-es-Sultaneh, has returned to Persia from Odessa, and collected together an army of men in sympathy with himself. This body of men has spread itself over an area in Persia where they have had conflicts with the Government forces, and sustained considerable losses. The Mejliss has offered a reward of 100,000 tomans (£33,000) on the ex-Shah's head. Also 25,000 tomans on the head of Shua-es-Sultaneh, and 25,000 tomans on that of Salah-ed-Dowleh. Unrest still continues.

A new Cabinet was recently formed, which comprises Sam Sam-es-Sultaneh, Premier and Minister of War; Voosoogh-es-Dowleh, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ghavam-es-Sultaneh, Minister of the Interior; Ala-es-Sultaneh, Minister of Public Instruction; Hakim-el-Mulk, Minister of Finance; and Dabir-ul-Mulk, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—News received shows that the Arabs concentrated in great force in the vicinity of Loheia, seized the water-supply, and threatened an attack on the town. A similar situation was reported from Gezan. The Imperial troops and the Shereef's forces captured the key to the Arab position covering Ibha, in the hope of relieving the town.

JAPAN.—Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Kato signed the new Anglo-Japanese Treaty on July 13, 1911. The Treaty prolongs the subsisting alliance until July, 1921, and provides that, should either party make a Treaty of General Arbitration with a third Power, such party shall not be bound by

the Treaty of Alliance to go to war with such third Power. The Treaty has given satisfaction to the Australians, who consider that there is room for every congratulation, as they have at least ten years to strengthen their defensive position. Canada and America have also approved of the new Treaty.

The old Cabinet having resigned, the Marquis Saionji has formed a new Cabinet, constituted with the following Ministers: Mr. Hara, Home Affairs; Mr. Yamamoto, Finance; General Ishimoto, War; Baron Saito, Navy; Mr. Makino, Agriculture and Commerce; Count Hayashi, Communications; Mr. Matsudd, Justice; and Mr. Haseba, Education.

From figures published in Tokyo we find that in 1909 340 cases of cutting and stealing of telegraph wires occurred on the South Manchurian Railway by Chinese, and 108 cases in 1910, and 40 cases in the first five months of 1911. In addition there were also 11 attempts at train-wrecking in the current year. The Japanese are intending, unless the Chinese exercise greater vigilance, to increase their railway guards.

AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—The financial returns for the first quarter of the Union year show that the revenue from Customs and railways, in which a considerable drop was anticipated when the Estimates were framed, has actually improved. Railways in particular, in which Mr. Sauer estimated a fall of £800,000 on the year, were £30,000 up at the end of July.

Lieutenant-General Sir R. C. Hart, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., is appointed to be General Officer Commanding-in-Chief in South Africa.

RHODESIA.—A mixed Anglo-Belgian Commission, under the direction of Major Gillam, of the British Army, and of Major Beauregard, of the Belgian Army, left England on July 29 in order to carry out the delimitation of the frontier between Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

Lord Gladstone is on a tour in Rhodesia. He arrived at Salisbury on August 25.

The Order in Council, uniting the Chartered Company's territories north of the Zambesi under the title of Northern Rhodesia, came into force on August 17. The Order begins by revoking previous Orders and defining the boundaries of the united territories. It provides for the appointment of an Imperial officer, styled the Resident Commissioner, who may be the officer holding the same position in Southern Rhodesia, and of the Administrator appointed by the Chartered Company with the approval of the Secretary of State. It also provides for the creation of an Administrative Council of at least five members, the Administrator being President, and the Resident Commissioner and senior Judge being *ex-officio* members, and the constitution of a High Court of Justice, with as many judges as may from time to time be required. The mineral rights in all lands assigned to natives are retained by the Company.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—The census returns give the following figures: New South Wales, 1,648,212; Victoria, 1,315,000; Queensland, 603,908; South Australia, 411,161; Western Australia, 280,316; Tasmania, 190,898. Total for Australia, 4,449,495.

Lord Denman, the new Governor-General of Australia, arrived at Melbourne on July 31, where he took the oath in the Parliament House.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The following changes have been made in the Cabinet: Mr. Beeby becomes Minister of Lands, Mr. Carmichael Minister of Education, and Mr. Trefle Minister of Agriculture.

The area under wheat this year is 2,798,000 acres, an increase of 186,000 acres.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—At the opening of Parliament at Adelaide on June 28, the Governor in his speech said that the finances were expected to yield a balance on the credit side of £200,000. Several valuable estates had been

purchased which will provide openings for a number of farmers. With extended railway communications several millions of acres of arable land would be brought under cultivation, therefore a rigorous policy of railway construction was proposed, and steps taken to attract immigrants.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Government is founding a University at Perth, and Mr. Hugh Gunn, the well-known Director of Education of the Orange Free State, has been appointed to act as adviser and organizer for the University.

NEW ZEALAND.—Sir Joseph Ward presented his Budget to the House of Representatives on September 8. Among the proposals were reductions in railway fares, assistance to widows, State assistance for the oil and iron industries, cheapening of the cost of living, financial assistance to associations of farmers, a further increase on the graduated tax on large estates, a progressive railway and roads policy, and a loan of £1,500,000 for public works. The revenue, including the balance from last year, is estimated at £11,005,493, and the expenditure at £10,136,566.

UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS.

The first Universal Races Congress was held at the University of London Imperial Institute, London, on July 27, 28, and 29, Lord Weardale presiding. There were present about 300 delegates. Fifty different races or branches of the human family were represented. Twenty-two different Governments also sent eminent representatives. The Congress embodied the following among other resolutions, in memorials to the Third Hague Conference, to Governments, and to religious and other organizations interested in racial concord :

To urge that the establishing of harmonious relations between the various divisions of mankind is an essential

condition, precedent to any serious attempt to diminish warfare and extend the practice of arbitration.

To commend to individuals of different races courtesy and respect for each other.

To induce people to study with sympathy the customs and civilizations of other peoples, as even the lowliest have much to teach.

To study impartially the physical and social effects of race blending, and the causes which promote or hinder it.

To urge the importance of providing in all lands a universal and efficient system of education—physical, intellectual and moral—as one of the principal means of promoting cordial relations within and among all divisions of mankind.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Lieutenant-General Sir Seymour John Blane (Crimea, Indian Mutiny); —Brigade-Surgeon Thomas Edwin Burton Brown, C.I.E., M.D. (formerly Chemical Examiner in the Punjab, and Principal of the Lahore Medical College); —Rai Ram Nath, retired District Judge, Punjab; —J. E. Tate, Assistant Military Secretary to the Maharaja of Mysore; —Lieutenant-General Sir Edwin Henry Hayter Collen, O.C.I.E., C.B., Administrator of the Indian Army (Abyssinian war 1867-68, Afghan war, Eastern Soudan expedition 1885); —Colonel Charles Robert Keate, Indian Army; —Lieutenant-Colonel William Osborn (Abyssinian expedition 1868); —Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Dickinson Nightingale (Burmese war 1852-53); —Major-General C. S. Thomason, late Royal (Bengal) Engineers (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58); —Lieutenant-Colonel A. Wynch, of the Royal (Madras) Artillery; —Major Henry Comins, of the Indian Staff Corps (Zhob Valley expedition 1884, Burmese expedition 1887-88); —T. C. Edwards, Collector, of Agra; —H.H. Sir Surendab Bikram Prakash, Raja of Sirmur (Nahan); —Khan Bahadur Dhanjibhoy, C.I.E.; —Captain Arthur Mears, late Madras Staff Corps; —Sir Eldon Gorst, British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt; —Lieutenant-General Charles Pollard (Punjab campaign 1848-49, during the Mutiny was Executive Engineer, Wuzerees campaign 1859-60); —Major-General H. E. Jacob, late Bombay Staff Corps; —Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Bliss Warren, Commanding 3rd Brahmans, Indian Army; —Mr. Edward Vesey Westmacott, retired Bengal Civil Service; —Deputy Surgeon-General R. W. Clifton (China war

1860-61);—Colonel S. L. Jacob, C.I.E., late Indian Public Works Department;—General Sir Robert Cunliffe Low, G.C.B., Keeper of the Crown Jewels, late of the Indian Army;—Colonel Sir A. B. Morgan, K.C.B. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Hazara campaign 1868, Afghan war 1879-80, Egyptian expedition 1882, Burmese expedition 1887-89, and the Chin-Lushai expedition 1889-90);—Major Edward Brutton (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, China war 1860, New Zealand 1863);—Lieutenant J. St. C. Darlington, of the Indian Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel James O. H. Scanlan, A.M.C. (retired), for many years in India and South Africa;—Captain F. G. Steward (Sutlej 1846);—Charles L. Sutherland, C.I.E.;—Samuel Cooper, late I.C.S.;—Colonel H. H. Maharaja Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, of Cooch Behar, G.C.I.E., C.B., and Hon. Aide-de-Camp to H.M. the King.

September 18, 1911.

(228) C

J



U. L. 2

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.